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THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION

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EDITORS' PREFACE

THE object of the Oxford Library of Practical Theology is to supply some carefully considered teaching on matters of Religion to that large body of devout laymen, who desire instruction, but are not attracted by the learned treatises which appeal to the theologian. One of the needs of the time would seem to be, to translate the solid theological learning, of which there is no lack, into the vernacular of every-day practical religion; and while steering a course between what is called plain teaching on the one hand and erudition on the other, to supply some sound and readable instruction to those who require it, on the subjects included under the common title 'The Christian Religion,' that they may be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh them a reason of the hope that is in them, with meekness and fear.

The Editors, while not holding themselves precluded from suggesting criticisms, have regarded their proper task as that of editing, and accordingly they have not interfered with the responsibility of each writer for his treatment of his own subject.

W. C. E. N.
D. S.

PREFACE

These chapters are intended to illustrate the continuity and the value of Christian tradition in conduct, belief, and worship. They are necessarily only illustrations, and omit many subjects of very great importance. But they will have served their purpose if they render any help towards determining what is and what is not 'the faith once delivered to the saints.' The last few years have been very fruitful in discussions and discoveries connected with early Christian history, and certain results have begun to emerge with great distinctness. One is the fact that the peculiar features of Protestantism rest on traditions which are as unhistorical as those which underlie some modern features of Roman Catholicism. Another result is the fact that the critics of orthodox Christianity are now destroying one another's theories much more than they are destroying the Catholic faith. The extreme Dutch critics are perfectly right when they tell their more moderate German rivals that it takes time for a non-supernatural religion to grow into one which is supernatural. They cannot logically believe that Jesus Christ was only an excellent Jewish preacher, and at the same time admit the genuineness of half of the earliest Christian literature. And the German critics aforesaid are perfectly justified in hurling the name of 'pseudo-criticism' at

a school which, in the case of Christian literature, rejects evidence of genuineness which would be regarded as more than sufficient in the case of non-Christian literature.

It has been necessary to limit the number of references printed in this book. But in the chapter on 'Penitence in the Early Church' it has seemed best to give as full references as possible, in view of the recent discussion in England concerning the subject of sacramental confession.

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THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION

CHAPTER I

THE NEW TESTAMENT OF JESUS CHRIST

> Love, with Greece and Rome in ken,
> Bade her scribes abhor the trick
> Of poetry and rhetoric,
> And exult, with hearts set free,
> In blessed imbecility
> Scrawled, perchance, on some torn sheet
> Leaving Sallust incomplete.
>
> BROWNING, *Christmas Eve.*

THE Christian Church started on its career with 'Scripture' in its hand. But this Scripture was not what we call the New Testament, nor was it exactly what we call the Old Testament. At the beginning of the Second Book of the Maccabees, in a letter written in B.C. 124 by some Jews of Judaea to their kinsmen in Egypt, we find mention of a collection of sacred books. It says that Nehemiah, B.C. 444, made a library of the records of the kings and the prophets, of the writings of David, and finally of the letters of the kings touching holy gifts; that in the Syrian wars this collection was scattered, and that it was restored by the great national hero Judas Maccabaeus and was now in the actual possession of the Jews of Jerusalem. Other evidence exists to show that when the Second Book of the Maccabees was written certain of these records of kings and prophets were regarded as more valuable and sacred than the rest. First and foremost came the five books of the Law, which contained the laws of God

and the history of His covenant that He made with the founders of the Hebrew people. About B.C. 200 'the prophets' were added to 'the Law.' That is to say, the utterances made by the prophets of Judah and Israel before the time of their captivity and until the full restoration of Jerusalem, and certain historical books written in a prophetical spirit, were placed on the same level as the books of Moses. Besides these there were the *Hagiographa*, numerous books of a more or less sacred character which the Jews had not yet definitely included in Scripture—eleven of them, including the Psalms, Ruth, Esther, Proverbs, and Job, were finally added to the Law and the Prophets by the decision of learned Pharisees not long after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in A.D. 70. But at the beginning of the Christian era it had not yet been decided finally what books ought to be included in this third section of the Old Testament. So in the New Testament we find more than one allusion to Jewish legends which were afterwards regarded as apocryphal by Jews and Christians alike. The simplest and best-known instance is the reference made by S. Jude to the Book of Enoch, a book which still exists, but which was not given any place in the Old Testament. On the other hand, the Psalms, although they fall under the third section of the Old Testament, were already regarded as on the same level as the first two sections. Thus, in *S. John* x. 34, our Lord refers to a verse in *Psalm* lxxxii. as part of what the Jews called their 'Law.' The deeply spiritual tone of most of the *Psalms*, their frequent use in Jewish worship, and their fertility in references to the Messiah, immediately secured for them a place in the first rank among the books valued by the disciples of the Messiah.

Besides these Scriptures of the Old Testament, the Christians relied on what is called in *Acts* 'the teaching of the apostles,' much of which, as the same

book witnesses, was intended to prove that the history of the Lord Jesus corresponded with the Messianic prophecies. At first the Christians were probably by no means eager to write books of their own. The Jews disliked writing down the sayings of a rabbi, lest such a writing should encroach upon the already existing Scriptures. And some of the leading apostles evidently expected that their Lord would visibly return within their own lifetime, and they would consequently feel that a written record of His sayings was unnecessary. But though these facts may have acted as a check on literary effort, the check was of short duration. For in the hearts of all believers, Jesus Christ occupied a perfectly unique position. Intense as was their reverence for the Scriptures, they regarded Him as above the Scriptures, as 'greater than the temple.' They believed that they were in possession of the key to Scripture, and that a present inspiration or 'unction from the Holy One' was at work among them. So if they ever were reluctant to write about their Lord, their reluctance was caused by the feeling that such a step would be novel rather than by the feeling that it would be wrong. And as they were eager to win converts, and those who had been personally acquainted with the life of Christ could not do all the work of converting, the necessity for writing some account of Christ became a pressing one. The most important facts for preaching were those that fell between the baptism of our Lord and His ascension. It is this period of which a special knowledge was required in the case of the apostle who was elected to fill the place of Judas. The death and resurrection of Christ were naturally regarded as the most important facts of all, and the immense stress which is laid upon them by S. Paul is in agreement with what we find in the earlier chapters of *Acts*. From the very first the Christians rested all their

hopes upon the knowledge that the same Jesus was both crucified and raised from the dead, and that He had become their Saviour by bearing their griefs and sins and by raising them to newness of life. If then a Gospel had to be written, the scope of it would be indicated by the most striking points in the ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. The story of the 'good news' would cover, not the whole life of the Redeemer, but a space of two years and a-half.

1. At the back of any writing lay the testimony of eye-witnesses. And the Gospel according to *S. Mark*, which is now universally acknowledged to be the oldest of our existing Gospels, seems to be quite unmistakably based on the testimony of an eye-witness from Galilee. Statements of early writers which are too strong to be set aside say that S. Mark wrote down what he had heard S. Peter say. The Gospel itself goes to prove this. The story is written as it might be told in a vivid conversation. The sea of Galilee is called 'the sea,' for such it had been to the Galilean fisherman, and our Lord's actions and feelings are described with an artless minuteness which is as significant as the uncouth Greek in which the Gospel is written. The perplexity, amazement, fear, anger, hardness of heart, and drowsiness of the apostles, and especially of S. Peter himself, are recorded with the voice of one who has not learned to see a halo around his own person. The same writers who say that S. Mark wrote what S. Peter told him, indicate that the date of this Gospel is after A.D. 60. But the style and theology are so thoroughly archaic and simple that we cannot believe that the Gospel as taught thirty years before in Jerusalem was very different.

The Gospel according to *S. Matthew*, and that according to *S. Luke*, show us a second stage. They were probably written a very few years later than the work of S. Mark, and they represent a conscious

adaptation to certain definite needs of the Church. We do not mean that this adaptation was made at the expense of truthfulness, but that the material which was at the disposal of the evangelists was carefully selected to suit the spiritual state of certain classes of readers, such as the Theophilus for whom S. Luke wrote his Gospel. Older documents are used by both writers, and it will scarcely be denied that among these documents was the work of S. Mark. Almost everything in *S. Mark* reappears in *S. Matthew* and *S. Luke*, and the coincidence includes parentheses and rare Greek words. Faithful memories might have preserved the actual words spoken by our Lord, but it is highly improbable that the framework in which these words were set would have remained so similar in the minds of three different writers. But both S. Matthew and S. Luke used other sources besides S. Mark. The more men reflected on the character of Christ, the more they became convinced that it was necessary to trace His history further back than His baptism. The need of some account of His genealogy and birth and of His early days was felt. It was felt too that S. Mark had said much about the action, but not enough about the teaching of the Master. More might be advantageously added about the doings of the Lord in Jerusalem, which S. Luke had visited in A.D. 56 in S. Paul's company, and in which he took a special interest. It was probably while he was at Jerusalem that he procured information about the passion and resurrection, to the story of which he adds particulars of the highest worth and interest, such as Herod's mockery of our Lord and the conversion of the penitent thief. We are left to mourn over the fact that he seems to have clipped away much that we should regard as priceless. He apparently planned a work in three volumes, each of convenient and portable size, and something was sacrificed to this

practical convenience. Similar motives apparently weighed with S. Matthew. He possessed a rich store of material about the discourses of Christ, and some features about the passion and resurrection not mentioned by S. Mark. He alone records Pilate washing his hands, and the opening of the graves on Easter Day. And he too cut down his narrative to the length of a manuscript of portable size. It can hardly be a mere coincidence that the three longest books in the New Testament, *S. Matthew*, *S. Luke*, and *Acts*, which was S. Luke's 'second treatise,' are of almost exactly the same length.

Both these two evangelists write with great artistic skill and with a clear purpose. S. Matthew writes for Jewish converts, and wishes to represent Jesus as the Messiah and the Old Testament as a volume of anticipations. He tries to make his readers feel thoroughly at home in the 'Church,' a word which he alone employs among the four evangelists. He is not guilty of reconstructing Christianity, but he is like a wise steward who fills the new house with old family portraits and armour. First one prophet and then another is quoted, so that the Jewish Christian can feel that he has not said goodbye to his race but realised its true destiny. The Gospel was either intended to be used as a catechism, or was composed of passages used for that purpose. The genealogy, speeches, and actions of our Lord are arranged in groups in which the number seven is prominent, and this was plainly done to aid the memory of teachers and learners. The author seems to show an acquaintance with Hebrew, but wrote for the benefit of a community where the Jews spoke Greek. Antioch was perhaps the town where he published his work. And the stress that he lays upon the Messiahship of Jesus, and upon His warning against false prophets and the love that waxes cold, points to a time when the

Hebrew Christians must have been strongly tempted to throw in their lot with their unbelieving kinsmen. And no time seems quite so appropriate as the time of that wild revival of Jewish patriotism which came before A.D. 70.

S. Luke's work is later, though not sufficiently late for the author to have become acquainted with the Gospel according to *S. Matthew*. The book does not show the slightest hostility to Judaism, but the author seems to be sailing on the open sea, and to have cut the cable which bound Christianity to Jewish forms. He had travelled much and had read a good deal, and he sometimes corrects the rough colloquial Greek which S. Mark talked among the poor of Rome. He was a companion of S. Paul, and he loves to describe Jesus as 'the Lord' of a new society to which the Gentile and the outcast are as welcome as the Hebrew and the saint. The prominence given to women, and the insertion of hymns such as the *Magnificat*, enhance the beauty of his work. It is a Gospel where the sun shines and the forget-me-nots are blooming. And yet the writer was a physician. Where he wrote it, it is hard to say. A very good old tradition says that he died an old man in Bithynia. And he seems to have written the book when he was already growing old. Jerusalem is a ruin, the times of the Gentiles have begun. There is a lull in the persecution. Nero is gone, but Christians need to be encouraged to appear if necessary 'before kings and rulers' for Christ's name sake. Some of the apostles have passed away, and their little jealousies and failings are dealt with tenderly by S. Luke. The old grow gentle as they find some spark of good in almost every man, and learn how hard it is to throw off the yoke of circumstance. And so the poor, the stricken, and the erring find a shelter for themselves in this idyllic book.

For the report of our Lord's longer sayings it is

almost certain that S. Luke and S. Matthew used written collections of such sayings. One such collection was made by S. Matthew in the Hebrew language. This we are told by Papias, who was bishop of Hierapolis in Asia Minor about A.D. 130. This document, which has long been lost, is ordinarily called by modern writers the *Logia* or 'Oracles,' from the expression used by Papias. It is now impossible to determine whether our first Gospel was written in its present form by S. Matthew himself, or by an unknown writer, who used as his principal material this Hebrew writing by S. Matthew. In favour of the former view it is urged that a personal follower of Christ would not have found it necessary to borrow material from S. Mark, who was not a personal follower of Christ. In favour of the latter view we may urge the numerous marks of an early date which our first Gospel contains, and also the undoubted practice of early Christian writers to borrow freely from one another. Whichever answer be the true one, the Gospel can fitly be called that 'according to *S. Matthew*.'

So useful and so popular were the Gospels of *S. Matthew* and *S. Luke*, that the Gospel of *S. Mark* must for a few years have been regarded as antiquated. It is well-known that the present ending of that book, beginning at chapter xvi. 9, is not by S. Mark, but is a very ancient substitute for the original conclusion. And every copy that we possess lacks the original conclusion, and therefore is ultimately descended from one single copy which had lost the page or column containing it. On that one precious copy, hidden about A.D. 100 in some Christian library, and welcomed by some prudent seeker after history, depends our best knowledge of Christ's ministry in Galilee.

In concluding this brief account of our three oldest Gospels, it is worth saying that their substance un-

doubtedly belongs to the first or Jewish period of Christianity. No critic now denies this. Even in the fourth Gospel the short sentences, the Hebrew grammar, and the allusions to a state of affairs prevalent in Jerusalem early in the first century, show that the writer was a Jew and was one who lived in that palæontological age. But the other three Gospels state their facts in a way which marks them off from that of S. John, and still more completely marks them off from the Christian literature of the sub-apostolic age. Their artless yet sublime expression was not caught by the Christians of the Greek and Roman world. They are written in the language of that world, but the language lies upon them like the garments of an athletic runner. It scarcely conceals a force and beauty which are independent of the outward vesture and owe nothing to it. Almost every sentence could be translated into Hebrew or Aramaic and look quite natural, and often the words are put side by side in a manner which is less Greek than the Greek prose of many an English schoolboy.

The fixed character of this traditional Gospel story is proved by the Gospel of *S. Luke*. His preface to the Gospel and certain parts of *Acts* show that he was quite able to write Greek like a Greek of that period. But in the Gospel narrative he tells his story in the older Christian fashion. He uses the same style as S. Matthew and S. Mark, only correcting a few of the more plebeian phrases. He also assures us that 'many had taken in hand to set forth a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us,' and that he had 'perfect understanding of all things from the very first.' He claims to be a competent chronicler, and we can test the honesty of his claim by many details in *Acts*, upon which light has been thrown by recent discoveries. In his Gospel he has in the main depended upon that of S. Mark. This is a satisfactory

guarantee that at the time when S. Luke wrote the Gospel of *S. Mark* was regarded as eminently accurate. No scientific criticism has ever succeeded in reversing this judgment of S. Luke, or in proving that any of the miracles related by S. Mark are stories which are either translations of parables into events, or stories invented to fulfil sayings contained in the Old Testament. All the history contained in *S. Mark* possesses a definite local colour. It possessed little or no attraction for Christians immediately after the apostolic age. When all the eye-witnesses of the ministry of Christ were dead, orthodox Christians wanted most of all something which helped them in preaching the Gospel. It did not particularly help them to know that our Lord's relatives once thought Him mad, or that on two particular occasions He had no time for His meals, or that another time He walked alone in front of His disciples, or that a young man fled away naked when Christ was captured. These illustrate the characteristics of S. Mark's Gospel, and orthodox Christians before the close of the first century were developing a marked preference for that of S. Matthew, simply because the latter was better fitted for teaching purposes. Then there were the unorthodox Christians, who wished for something more sensational than genuine Christianity. We may content ourselves with saying that such fragments of their sacred literature as survive show us about the same proportion of sympathetic understanding of the circumstances of the life of Christ as we find in the theology of Marie Corelli.

All this local colour in *S. Mark*, a colour which the second century could not reproduce, is precisely what makes that Gospel so rich in suggestion to the mind of a modern critic. And although S. Matthew and S. Luke do not preserve it all, they too contain archaic touches and phrases which must have been exceedingly puzzling to intelligent Gentile Christians about A.D. 80.

And we therefore are compelled to believe that they give us a true picture of Jesus Christ, of His teaching and actions, of His character and claims, and of the impression which He made upon His immediate followers. They show to us a perfectly unique Personality, a Teacher brought up in a Jewish village who called men to a repentance of which He showed no trace and no need, who proclaimed the opposite of most of the distinctive doctrines of the Essenes, Pharisees, and Sadducees around them, who taught the erring to look upon His forgiveness as the forgiveness of God, and to find in the surrender of His life the ransom which is to release them from the power of guilt.

2. The *Acts of the Apostles* is closely linked to the Gospel according to *S. Luke*. It is scarcely less important than the Gospels themselves, as it professes to contain an account of the spread of the Church from Jerusalem to Samaria and to 'the uttermost part of the earth.' It is the earliest Church history, and therefore no Christian can fail to see that much depends upon its accuracy. Probably the most extreme critics would not deny that it contains some fragments of genuine history. But they declare it to be a composite work which did not take its present shape until after the beginning of the second century or even later. One recent theory is that the book is derived from four sources: a 'History of the Greek-speaking Jews,' or 'Hellenists,' a 'History of Peter,' a 'History of Paul,' and a 'Journey of Paul.' It is held that these were put together and the result revised by three successive editors, of whom the second was favourably disposed to the Jews, and the third the reverse. Such elaborate attempts to dissect the book have not proved very successful. The dissecting critics are at variance with one another, and there seems to be no likelihood of their coming to an agreement unless they grow willing

to concede that *Acts* is less composite and more primitive in origin than they are now inclined to grant.

There is no reason to doubt that the book is in a sense composite. It is extremely probable that chapters i.-xii. are based on some early Jewish sources. But the book, as it stands, is a literary unity. It is marked by the same plan and the same language throughout. It is the work, not of a mere compiler, but of a genuine author. And the language gives us a clue to the author's name. There are certain sections in the book in which we find that the author uses the pronoun 'we.' These sections occur in the account of S. Paul's journeys, and indicate that the writer was a companion of that apostle. The only companion who will fit the circumstances is S. Luke, and these sections can be ascribed to S. Luke without hesitation. A serious question immediately arises: Did the writer of these sections write the remainder of the book? The style compels us to answer 'yes.' And the argument from style is so cogent that some of the foremost hostile critics find themselves obliged to suggest that the 'we sections' were originally of larger extent, and that the missing portions were utilised by the compiler even where the pronoun 'we' does not occur.

The book falls quite naturally into the place between the Synoptic Gospels and S. John's Gospel. Its main purpose is religious. It is a fresh and most vigorous picture of typical events in the expansion of the Church. It describes the successive widenings in the classes of persons reached by the Gospel, and the writer stops when he has recorded how S. Paul, the chief agent in this expansion, began to teach in Rome, the capital of the civilised world. Besides this, the book is a quiet defence of the principles of Christianity. It is 'a temperate and solemn record . . . of the real facts regarding the formation of the Church, its steady and unswerving loyalty in the past,

its firm resolve to accept the facts of Imperial government, its friendly reception by many Romans.'[1] It depicts the Church as in embryo an 'imperial Church,' in the only Christian sense of that disputed name. The tone of it, with its quiet confidence, is in contrast with the tone of the *Revelation* of S. John. The persecution of the Christians by the State did not yet seem to be the policy of an ogre deliberately endeavouring to make himself 'drunk with the blood of the martyrs.' The geographical and historical details of the narrative agree with this attitude towards the Roman State. The author does not merely show sympathy with the age that he is describing. It is possible for sympathy to prove a very unsafe guide in the composition of a history, and the book manifests those qualities of accuracy and fairness which keep sympathy in the straight path. The two great heroes are S. Peter and S. Paul. But though they are set side by side, S. Paul is not represented as Petrine nor S. Peter as Pauline. The worst thing that the critics can say against it is that the book 'catholicises.' It contains throughout a conception of the Church and of the ministry which implies that it was the work of Jesus Christ and His apostles 'to found and to legislate for a new theocratic society.'[2] Not until this fact has been disproved, can it be reasonably alleged that *Acts* is an attempt to find fictitious bases and guarantees for the Catholicism of the second century.

3. Out of the missionary journeys which are recorded in *Acts* grew the missionary epistles. *Acts* therefore gives us a key to S. Paul's letters. It was not enough for an apostle to build scattered Churches in the great cities of the Roman Empire. Those Churches were composed of frail men in the midst of difficulties and

[1] W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, p. 309.

[2] *Ecce Homo*, p. 41.

it was necessary to build them up. This was the purpose of the Epistles. Like *Acts*, they show us that within a few years after Pentecost a momentous crisis had taken place in the Church. The conversion of S. Paul resulted in the Church being denationalised deliberately by its very leaders. Modern historians are in no danger of belittling the work of the Jew who succeeded in transplanting Christianity from Asia to Europe, and gave it a language and form adapted to the European mind. On the whole, they tend to exaggerate his importance. Agnostic and half-Christian writers now fully admit the genuineness of most of his letters, and realise that they are not only coals of fire taken from a living altar, but that they diffuse real light upon the Christian Church between A.D. 45 and A.D. 64. They give us far more than scattered hints. They show us the belief and worship, the moral struggles and the intellectual puzzles of one Christian community after another. And in spite of the Epistles that are lost, a bright chain of connected thought can be traced through those that remain. The quiet strong belief that Christianity will win the day and can afford to be patient, the resigned confidence shown in the letters to the Thessalonians, flashes out in *Galatians* into the ardent assertion that the Gentile Christian has practically rejected Christ if he tries to approach God as a Jew, and in *Corinthians* it appears as a principle that can answer the social problems of a teeming city. In *Romans* the apostle, having already claimed the sphere of conscience for Christ, claims the sphere of history. He is not content with condemning Judaism and paganism, he shows their actual value as stages which God has utilised in working out the plan of man's redemption.

In *Colossians*, *Ephesians*, and *Philippians* we realise that the worst battle with Judaism and semi-Jewish Christianity has already been fought and won. S. Paul

has succeeded in proving that 'Christ is the end of the Law.' Christ is all in all for the conscience and for history, and now in *Colossians* he shows that Christ belongs not only to history but to eternity. His appearance in the world and His new creation of mankind are the counterpart of His life in heaven and of His original creation of the universe. In *Philippians*, which is a letter to the Church of his heart, the same doctrine is implied, and in *Ephesians* it is developed in a new direction. Granted that in Christ is all the fulness of God's attributes, is there to be no visible home on earth where He, who once came to dwell on earth, may perpetuate those attributes? S. Paul answers with a decisive 'yes.' The visible Church with its peculiar organisation is the home of grace and truth. The Greek spirit was naturally restless, and had always been inclined to unnecessary separation and narrow independence. Therefore S. Paul shows that as there is one divine Christ there must be one Church. Those who are united with Christ are in their real spiritual life necessarily united with one another, and the outward body in which they are united is Christ's own creation.

The little letter to *Philemon* is not only a pearl of personal affection, but also an illustration of what this doctrine of the Church meant in its application to slavery. Christianity immediately began to lift the slave as it began to lift women to a better level. S. Paul's last Epistles, those to *Timothy* and *Titus*, show us the wisdom and vigour of the apostle in laying down rules for the ministry of the Churches which he had founded. They show too that to the end of his days he was engaged in controversy. A decadent half-Jewish superstition is confronted by the 'sound' faith and the practical discipline and piety of Christianity.

S. Paul's long conflict with Judaism—doctrinal, ceremonial, and theosophic—suggests an all-important

question with regard to Christ himself. Rationalistic writers now make little attempt to deny the genuineness of S. Paul's Epistles; they frequently uphold the genuineness of all except those to *Timothy* and *Titus*, and even admit that in these there are some genuine verses by S. Paul. And the same writers state that in his Epistles S. Paul attaches an extraordinary importance to Jesus Christ. They criticise the apostle for introducing a doctrine of 'objective redemption,' according to which the death of Christ had such unique value that by it God is reconciled to man, even before a man avails himself of this reconciliation. They criticise him for teaching so unmistakably that Christ is a supernatural Being worthy of our highest love and lowliest worship, and they treat this doctrine of Christ's Person as a false speculative idea. They do not see that this criticism leaves them stranded on a sandbank. The difficulty is this. If our Lord was only the most excellent of men, a man who came into the world as we came into it, and who only rose again in the sense that his soul remained immortal in spite of the crucifixion, if the original apostles were only pious Jewish Unitarians, how is it that they came to associate themselves with S. Paul's principles? Hardly any one now denies that S. Peter, S. James, and S. John recognised the new apostle's pronouncement to be true, and the theory that they withdrew this recognition and afterwards opposed him tooth and nail rests on pure fiction. S. Paul's own statements in *Galatians* and the statements in *Acts*, a book which by its very independence of S. Paul's Epistles is shown to be a work of the apostolic age, prove that the apostles were involved in some important disputes about ceremonial. The frankness with which these disputes are mentioned serves to throw into higher relief the fact that there was no dispute about the Person and the work of our Lord. In the earlier

Epistles of S. Paul there are sentences which plainly show that the writer all along held that Christ, though man, also had a divine nature. And in A.D. 55 he says to the Corinthians, 'I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that He was buried; and that He hath been raised on the third day according to the Scriptures.' He calls this 'the Gospel which I preached,' and says that Peter and James and all the apostles saw the risen Messiah. He asserts that this Gospel had the direct approval of the original apostles, for in writing to the Galatians he describes his visit to Jerusalem in A.D. 49, and says, 'I laid before them the Gospel which I preach among the Gentiles.'

Now, Rationalism is really asking us to believe in a stupendous miracle. It is asking us to believe that the original apostles, the personal disciples of Christ, sanctioned a religion which departed from the original Gospel, and that Christian Churches spread over a vast area of territory quietly acquiesced in the new message, in spite of the fact that they swarmed with opponents of S. Paul who pretended to be better Christians than himself. The Epistles to Galatia, Corinth, and Rome, which reveal the struggle with Judaising Christianity at white heat, contain no single hint that the Judaising party denied the Divinity of Christ. Nor is there any evidence to show that any of them denied it until many years after the apostle's death. The apostles were no plaster saints. They were eager vigorous men. Being men, they would naturally be tempted to be rather jealous, and rather suspicious about the brilliant Pharisee who had begun to preach Christ. That they were suspicious is revealed to us in *Acts* (ix. 26-27). And yet they acquiesced in teaching which modern writers assure us was never heard from the lips of the Master for whom they had

forsaken all, teaching which at first sight appears to contradict that monotheistic view of God which was and is a passionate conviction in the heart of every Jew. Surely it is infinitely more probable that the Master himself taught the doctrine which we find in S. Paul's Epistles, than that S. Paul imposed his own speculations on apostles who had accompanied Christ during the whole of His ministry. That they should have continued to regard Jesus as the Messiah in spite of His humiliation and death, can only be explained by the fact that He had taught them to believe it, and ratified His teaching by the resurrection. That they should have believed this same Messiah to be divine in a sense infinitely deeper than was recognised by the ordinary Jewish doctrine of the Messiah, can also only be explained by the faith which they had gained from personal intercourse with Him.

This leads us to a brief account of those writings which bear the names of Peter, James, and Jude.

4. The *First Epistle of S. Peter* is one of the best possible proofs that S. Peter entirely accepted the Gospel message of S. Paul as identical with that of Christ himself. The evidence for the genuineness of the Epistle is very strong, as it was quoted by Clement Bishop of Rome about A.D. 95, by Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna about A.D. 110, and by Papias Bishop of Hierapolis about A.D. 130. All attempts to uproot the Epistle out of the first century have entirely failed. The author writes, not as a subtle theologian, but as one who has a vivid personal impression of the significance of Christ's work, and he writes in plain sympathy with the theology of S. Paul. The readers are comparatively new converts, Gentiles in Asia Minor, apparently free from heresy; the writer asserts his authority in the most modest fashion, there seems to be a reference to a special outpouring of spiritual gifts as in *First Corinthians*, and the allusions to persecution

fit the reign of Nero. The position of the Church is already anxious, persecution seems to be in the air, but it has not yet become so universal as to shut out the hope that it may be averted if the Christians live an exemplary life. The Epistle is marked by a resigned confidence, and is a short Gospel for the suffering. It claims to be written at Babylon, *i.e.* Rome, and agrees with the persistent and well-supported tradition that S. Peter finished his life in that city. The Gospel of S. Mark, written at the same place and near the same date, helps us to realise the religious environment of this work.

The *Epistle of S. James*, who is known to have been martyred in A.D. 62, is plain, practical, and undogmatic. It seems to be written in Palestine, and among Jewish Christians who had lost their first love for Christ and were nevertheless as much oppressed by the Jews as if they were Christians in every fibre. The strong emphasis laid upon the necessity of doing good works has sometimes been regarded as a direct polemic against S. Paul's teaching of the superior necessity of faith. But this interpretation is now generally given up by both Christian and non-Christian writers. For S. James, when he speaks of faith as inadequate for gaining salvation, is plainly criticising a dry intellectual orthodoxy, and not surrender of the will to Christ. And S. Paul, when he dwells on the inadequacy of 'works,' is not depreciating 'good works' or 'noble works,' as he calls the outflow of Christian energy, but works performed as part of a routine. The writer, by calling himself the 'bond-servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ,' manifests his belief that his own dependence upon Christ was identical with his dependence upon God.

The *Epistle of S. Jude*, and the *Second Epistle of S. Peter*, which borrows largely from that of S. Jude, are both marked by an undeniably Hebrew colouring.

They both contain a passionate attack upon libertine conduct. The tone of surprised horror with which S. Jude writes, suggests a date previous to the excesses of the Nicolaitans mentioned in the *Revelation* at the close of the first century, for by that time Christians were only too familiar with the half-Christian sects, which employed a little Christian doctrine to decorate their licentious creeds. In the second century these sects were still more influential, especially in Egypt, where the Carpocratians faithfully reflected the vices which are denounced by S. Jude. It is just possible that *Jude* 17 refers to some passages in S. Paul's Epistles, such as 2 *Tim.* iii. 1, 2; iv. 3, and in this case the Epistle could not be dated earlier than about A.D. 66. There is no difficulty in thinking that the letter was written in Syria or Palestine about that time. The repeated attempts to show that it is an Egyptian forgery of the second century have nothing whatever to recommend them beyond the similarity of the debauchery rebuked by S. Jude and that inculcated by Carpocrates. The *Second Epistle of S. Peter* shows similar circumstances. Here the nominal Christians base their licence upon an appeal to S. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith, and having sinned with impunity, they dispute the doctrine that Christ will return to judge the world. It must candidly be admitted that it is comparatively easy to assail the genuineness of this Epistle, yet a careful examination of each of the points raised by hostile criticism shows that not one of them is really strong. There is no mention of the authority of an organised ministry, even the reference to Corah contained in *Jude* being here omitted. The insistence upon the authority of the Lord, the apostles and the prophets, and the value of Christian knowledge or science as opposed to heretical science, may of course be taken as pious formulæ of the second century. But they are all anticipated in S. Paul's Epistles, and

therefore may equally belong to the first century. And though the Epistle presents points of contact with a recently discovered forged Apocalypse attributed to S. Peter, the connection between the two documents is still too dim for us to be justified in reversing the verdict of the Church in its approval of the Epistle.

5. The *Epistle to the Hebrews*, written by a disciple of S. Paul, probably S. Barnabas, is often thought to have been addressed to the Christians of Rome. This is far from probable, though it gains some support from the fact that it was plainly quite familiar to S. Clement of Rome. Its tone and language are such as we might expect from a Christian of Alexandria, for it seems to have been written by a converted Jew who spoke what we may call real Greek in contrast to the stiff and rather uncultured dialect which we find in most of the books of the New Testament. It also shows a plain connection with Philo, the Jewish philosopher of Alexandria. It was written to deter a community of Christians from relapsing into Judaism, and it is reasonable to hold that, like the *Gospel of S. Matthew*, it was written not long before the siege of Jerusalem. The reference to Timothy makes it difficult to place the book in the last decade of the first century, as is done by several modern commentators. And if it was written, as they say, immediately before Clement's own letter, it is almost incredible that he should have regarded it with such reverence. In his high spiritual position, as the bishop of the chief city in the world, he was not likely to quote it unless it was the work of an apostle or a companion of the apostles. The Epistle is an important illustration of early Christian thought. Steeped in Christianity, and in evident sympathy with S. Paul, the author discusses Judaism from a new and sympathetic point of view. S. Paul shows how Judaism fulfilled the purpose of God by preparing for a revolution; this Epistle shows how it fulfilled that purpose by

preparing for an evolution. For the Jewish system of worship, which the converts to Christ still find attractive, is really a shadow and a sketch of the final revelation given by Christ. The conception of Christ is of the most exalted kind; it is taught that He is essentially divine, the maker of the world, and the object of the adoration of angels and men. His true humanity is as dear to the writer as His Divinity, and it is because Christ is thus perfectly human as well as divine that He is able to exercise the office of High Priest between God and man. In the work of the ascended Christ the Church possesses in reality all that the Jewish ritual could only present in symbol.

When we consider that the dogma of this Epistle is more elaborate and well-balanced than any that we get in the second century, it is well to remember that it is at least very probable that it was written before any of our Gospels except that according to S. Mark. For it shows that Christianity was apprehended in an elaborate and dogmatic form at a date when we might have expected extreme simplicity.

6. That the doctrine of Christ's Person contained in *Hebrews* is in close alliance with that in *Colossians* and *Ephesians* is evident to every student. In the *Writings of S. John* we see the same doctrinal affinity. The Gospel and the Epistles which Christian tradition attributes to the beloved disciple of the Lord have for rather more than a century been the chief battle-ground of New Testament criticism. The reasons for this can be seen by any intelligent reader, however little of expert knowledge he may possess. Our Lord is asserted to be God, for it is said that 'the Word became flesh,' and this Word 'was God.' And in spite of various ingenious and contradictory theories which have been constructed to deny the fact, it can scarcely be doubted that the author of this Gospel claims to have intimately known Jesus Christ. That a man who

writes in a tone of transparent sincerity should claim to have known God in human flesh is no doubt remarkable. And it is all the more remarkable because this man was evidently not a heathen Greek willing to deify any great or noble character, but a man who believed in one God, and one God only. We cannot therefore be the least surprised that these books should have been so persistently criticised. And another great reason for this criticism is that the picture of the life of Christ which is presented to us in this fourth Gospel differs widely from that which is contained in the other three. It is circumstantial where they are vague, it is doctrinal where they are practical, and it was evidently destined for the instruction of people who were already acquainted with the story which they contain.

It is impossible for us, within the limits at our disposal, to do more than indicate a few points of importance in the argument for the defence of the Gospel and Epistles of S. John. We may consider them together, for the great majority of writers admit that the First Epistle, which is infinitely the most important of the three, was written by the author of the Gospel. The Second and the Third Epistles are very brief, and certainly seem to be written by the author of the First. Now the First Epistle looks like a letter written at a rather later date than the Gospel, with the purpose of protecting it from misuse at the hands of men who adapted its phraseology to a semi-Christian religion. This religion was a form of Gnosticism as taught in Asia Minor by a certain Cerinthus. It attached great importance to the appearance of the divine Christ in the world, but asserted that the spirit called 'Christ' first came upon 'Jesus' at His baptism and left Him before the crucifixion. Against this theory the author of the Epistle declares that both in the water of the baptism and in the blood of the crucifixion the same

Person, both Jesus and Christ, was manifested. The *Acts of John*, a romance written in Asia Minor about A.D. 160, and partly based upon the Gospel, illustrates the tendency of Cerinthus and his followers to spiritualise the Gospel away. It asserts that Christ had no real body but only an appearance, and that to one person He appeared in one shape and to another in a different shape, and that the crucifixion, piercing, blood, and death of Christ, were only phantasms, and were not real experiences of the Lord. The popularity of this view in the East is attested by the fact that it is incorporated in the Koran; and the Moslem *Gospel of Barnabas*, a forgery of the Middle Ages, teaches this spiritualistic theory in a developed form.[1]

The question which we have to ask ourselves is, Do this Gospel and this Epistle really fit with the traditional orthodox belief that they were written by an apostle who lived at Ephesus late in the first century? There is nothing the least incredible in the statements of S. Irenaeus that he knew S. Polycarp, who died in A.D. 156, and that S. Polycarp remembered S. John, and that S. John survived until A.D. 98. S. Irenaeus wrote these statements about A.D. 185, and he is corroborated by four contemporary writers. This Gospel and this Epistle are quoted, or one of them is quoted, by writers through the second century, beginning with S. Polycarp and S. Ignatius about A.D. 110, Basilides about A.D. 125, and Papias near the same date. Moreover, they were not the direct product of a Semitic or very primitive Christianity. They were undoubtedly written in Greek, and written in a neighbourhood where Christianity was widespread, firmly rooted, and in touch with Christian Churches in the centres of the Roman Empire. They are not translations from Hebrew

[1] There came under the writer's personal notice the case of an intelligent native Christian in India whose faith was greatly troubled by this impudent Moslem Gospel.

or Aramaic, nor were they discovered in some far-off town in Palestine. And rationalistic writers, in asserting that their date is very late, and in admitting that they came from Ephesus, are unconsciously affirming that their origin is of such a kind that writers of the second century would have known better than to accept them. The later the date is put after A.D. 98, the more difficult it becomes to say that any mistake was possible. A number of fraudulent *Gospels* and *Acts* were composed soon after A.D. 100, but the Church was wise enough to reject every one. It is certainly reasonable to suppose that if this Gospel and this Epistle were not by the apostle, the Church would have rejected them as it rejected the forged *Gospel of S. Thomas* and the *Acts of John.*

And, as a matter of fact, the traditional date which is supported by the external evidence is supported by the internal evidence. The author never loses sight of the true humanity of Jesus Christ. He has no toleration for the idea that the Saviour had only a phantom flesh. And at the same time, by calling Jesus the Logos or Word incarnate, he at once explains to his Greek readers His relation to God and the world. The later Greeks gave the name of Logos to that one law of life which, they believed, animated the universe. Philo, the Jewish philosopher of Alexandria, maintained that this law, impressed on the material world, was the reflection of God and an energy evolved from Him. It can hardly be doubted that some influence of Philo can be traced in S. John. Yet the Jews of Palestine had a very similar theory about the Word, for they applied this name to God as manifested in His activity in the world. No better formula could have been adopted for Christian theology. At one blow S. John welded Christianity to Greek thought. By proclaiming that Christ was the Logos he enabled the Greeks to adore Christ while accept-

ing Monotheism. The intellect and the heart were satisfied at the same moment.

Yet S. John made no compromise whatever with the unchristian elements of contemporary philosophy. His doctrine of the Logos is no mere replica of the doctrine of Philo or the Greek Stoics. The complete and lasting incarnation of the Logos in one human form never dawned on the imagination or the faith of Philo. But it is this incarnation in the material human life of the Messiah which S. John proclaims. Interwoven with the story of the growth of the Jews' unbelief in Christ and the growth of the disciples' faith we find another record. It is the record of the Logos in the lowly life of Jesus manifested as the Author of the new faith (i. 35–iv. 42), as the Giver of life (iv. 43–vi. 71), as the Light of the world (vii. 1–xii. 50), as promising grace and truth after the departure of His visible presence (xiii. 1–xvii. 26), as the suffering and risen Lord (xviii.–xxi.). In all this we find a remarkable proof of the writer's fidelity even to the exact language of our Lord. For our Lord is never represented as using language of a distinctively Greek or Alexandrine type, which would almost certainly have been the case if the author had desired to create a fictitious Christ adapted to the taste of the age.

7. The *Revelation of S. John* seems to be rightly placed at the end of the apostolic writings. Few books of the New Testament contain so clear an indication of their date, or have so decisive a tradition in support of that date. The book was known throughout the second century. Early in that century it was regarded by Papias as inspired, in the middle of that century Justin Martyr speaks of it as by 'John, one of the apostles of Christ,' and later in that century Irenaeus says that 'it was seen not long ago, but almost in our own generation, at the end of the reign of Domitian.' This would be about A.D. 96. And the book shows

that though certain passages may originally have been written with reference to earlier troubles, the completion of the book must be assigned to the time of Domitian. It was this emperor who insisted on being worshipped as 'our Lord and God,' and inscriptions exist to prove that death or exile attended a refusal to render worship to this savage despot, whom Juvenal calls 'a bald Nero.' We thus find immediately a reason for the fact that the author represents himself as banished to an island in the Ægean Sea. For such islands were specially used by the Romans as a place of exile or execution. And the worship of the 'Beast' which is denounced in this book is unquestionably the worship of the Roman emperor, regarded as a blasphemous counterpart of the worship of the 'Lamb.' Joined with this idolatry is the worship offered to Rome itself, a cult which does not seem to have become common in Asia Minor until near the end of the first century. It is an interesting proof of the trustworthy character of *Acts* that we find in it only an indirect mention of the worship of the emperor, and none of the worship of Rome. In fact the question at issue between Church and State is quite different in the two books. In *Acts* the question is, 'Does not this innocent body of Christians deserve to be tolerated by a great State?' In the *Revelation* the question rather is, 'How shall the Church encourage herself to resist this brutal persecution?'

The *Revelation* has been subjected to a great deal of very arbitrary dissection. But it is almost universally admitted that it cannot be later than the reign of Domitian. Criticism is now chiefly busied in an inquiry as to the number, meaning and date of the component parts, the inquiry being based on the assumption that we must not seek for any passage later than the time of that emperor. That it was written by a Jewish Christian is plain, if only from

the roughness of the Greek. But the theory that it is full of purely Jewish work which has received a later Christian colouring, though a popular theory, seems to present insuperable difficulties. Equally difficult is it to believe that the seven letters to the Churches at the beginning of the book are a separate section written by a forger who wished to attach the book to an apostle's name. The book is an artistic unity, and the various sections, if of different dates, are fused together with a master's skill. And the statements which occur in the letters to the Seven Churches are taken up in the succeeding visions. The 'John' of ch. i. 4 claims to be the author, and he was evidently in a position of high authority. In ch. xxii. 9 he modestly shows that he belongs to the class of prophets whose duty it was to 'edify the Church' (1 *Cor.* xiv. 4). His book is a fountain of encouragement for a persecuted Church, asserting the supremacy of the invisible over the visible. From the contemporary letter of S. Clement of Rome, and the letter written a few years later by Pliny, we find that the first century closed with many troubles. There was dissension, heresy, and a tendency to lapse into heathenism. All this the *Revelation* confirms.

In the above account of the New Testament, the writer has followed the traditional view, placing each book within the apostolic age, which closed with the death of S. John. According to this view each book in the New Testament was written by the author whose name it bears, with the exception of *Hebrews*, which the best tradition does not ascribe to S. Paul. We may perhaps add the Gospel according to *S. Matthew*, for tradition can hardly be said to record that he wrote a Greek version of his Gospel, though this version embodies his own work. We gain from the traditional view a perfectly coherent picture of the development of early Christianity. No doubt the

earliest traditions do not always minutely agree. They require to be cross-questioned with care and sympathy. But they are so substantially correct that the critics who reject them have hitherto totally failed to come to any agreement as to the real date and authorship of the books which they dispute. A little knowledge is proverbially a dangerous thing, and monthly magazines and sceptical manuals offer the casual reader every advantage for the acquirement of such erudition. We find that statements are made with a confidence which suggests that a particular sceptical theory is satisfactorily proved, when it may be absolutely repudiated by many learned writers, both orthodox and unorthodox. It would be worth while to tabulate side by side some of the contradictory conjectures which in the past have been pronounced convincing by rationalistic writers. The contradictions still continue. And these contradictions do not merely affect minor points, but matters of firstrate importance. Harnack, the most learned and influential of German 'liberal' critics, places the date of *S. Matthew* very soon after A.D. 70, a date which is within the lifetime of many persons who had seen our Lord. Jülicher, a vigorous and brilliant writer, who has equally little veneration for orthodox Christianity, places it at the very end of the first century, which moves the book into the next generation. Two of the cleverest attacks upon the genuineness of S. John's Gospel are those which were published in 1901 by Réville and Schmiedel respectively. Both assure us that there is hardly a shred of genuine history in the book. But when we come to a crucial text like xix. 35, we find Réville stating that the writer of the Gospel here carefully distinguishes himself from the beloved disciple who witnessed the crucifixion![1] When we turn to Schmiedel, we find that he pronounces xix. 35 to be quite insufficient to prove that the author

[1] Jean Réville, *Le Quatrième Évangile*, p. 313.

was distinct from the witness of the crucifixion, and says that the elaborate investigations which have been made into the grammar of this verse 'do not touch the kernel of the question at all.'[1]

In face of such contradictions, Christians need be in no hurry to retreat. So much has been said against the genuineness of many parts of the New Testament that candid men are disposed to imagine that candour will compel them to make concessions to rationalism or agnosticism. It is right that they should desire to know all that can be known about the New Testament. But we shall be wise if we do not place ourselves blindly in the hands of every polite stranger who offers to guide us through the fogs of history. And we must in the name of religious common-sense complain of the action of those Christians who assure us that the religious value of the writings attributed to S. John, S. Peter, S. James, and S. Jude, remains as profound as before, even if they are acknowledged to be the product of a later generation. For if these writings are not genuine, their chief value consists in the light which they throw upon the age to which they really belong, and upon some discreditable literary habits of that age. They cease to be any first-hand evidence as to the Person of Jesus Christ. And they cease to be any illustration of the spiritual character of their reputed authors. We immediately become much less confident in affirming that Christ fully revealed the Father or that He gave the Spirit to His disciples. And those who have originated these theories have generally been well aware of all this, even when those who have accepted them have not.

The need of caution will be recognised by every one who takes the trouble to find out that much of the 'higher criticism' of the New Testament is not merely literary criticism. It is laboriously constructed

[1] *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. ii. col. 2543.

on the hypothesis that Jesus was not God, that He was not born of a virgin, that He worked no miracles, that only His soul lived after the crucifixion, that the ascension is a myth, that to worship Him is superstition. This hypothesis is sometimes carefully disguised, and it is then suggested as a conclusion drawn from critical discoveries, when it is really at the root of these pretended discoveries. We cannot fail to observe that the same plan was adopted sixty years since. There are probably old men still active, who in their young days rashly espoused the brilliant criticism by which the Tübingen school hoped to give an explanation of the formation of Catholic Christianity. And these men have lived to see the Tübingen account of the New Testament as obsolete as the tinder-box or the beaver hat.

NOTE TO CHAPTER I

The authenticity of the New Testament is defended at greater length in the author's *Books of the New Testament* (published by Rivingtons). Most of the articles in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, which deal with the same books, may be confidently recommended to those who desire to become further acquainted with the subject.

CHAPTER I

THE CREEDS

> Men often speak of the dogmas of the Church, as if they were deliberate attempts to impose certain arbitrary interpretations upon the truth contained in Scripture. The fact is just the opposite: they are the result of attempts to protect the historic record of the Gospel from arbitrary interpretations suggested by current modes of thought. The Creeds are brief statements of facts, against endeavours to explain those facts away.—Mandell Creighton, D.D., Bishop of London, *The Position of the Church of England*, 1899 (reprinted in *The Church and the Nation*, 1901, p. 254.)

§ 1. *The Apostles' Creed.*

One of the most remarkable proofs of the impression which Christianity had made in the world even before A.D. 100 is the attempt which was made to capture and annex it. Even in the writings of S. John we find indications of the fact that he is opposing an attempt to combine Christianity with some Oriental speculation, which taught men to despise the flesh and all material life, and denied the complete union of God and man in Christ. Christianity could not really be combined with such speculations any more than fire with water. But it was an age of intellectual fusion and confusion, and for some generations the combination known as 'Gnosticism' was very popular.

This 'Gnosticism,' or religion of knowledge, is a

great dramatic spectacle, half-tragedy and half-harlequinade. Now sublime and now absurd, it presents us with Greek, Persian, Babylonian, and Jewish elements in bewildering succession. And in the centre of this great procession of eclecticism stood the image of Christ in caricature.

The danger of this fusion of religions was not confined to academic circles. The result among the populace is described, no doubt with some exaggeration, in a famous letter preserved by Vopiscus and written by the Emperor Hadrian to Servianus in A.D. 134. In that year Hadrian visited Egypt, and he thus speaks of the citizens of Alexandria: 'Those who worship Serapis are Christians, and those are devotees of Serapis who say that they are bishops of Christ. There is there no ruler of a Jewish synagogue, no Samaritan, no presbyter of the Christians, who is not an astrologer, a soothsayer, or an athletic trainer. Even the Jewish patriarch himself when he comes to Egypt is compelled by some to adore Serapis, by others Christ.'[1] The lively banter which follows this sentence betrays the fact that Hadrian's tastes had not been gratified by the customs of the city, but his remarks are not the mere outcome of offended fancy. For Alexandria shares with Samaria and Antioch the distinction of being foremost in the endeavour to absorb Christianity into a theosophy. In these regions the ground had been previously prepared for this attempt. In the East the Babylonian mythology had come into contact with Greek philosophy, in Egypt the religion of the country was adopted by the Greeks and the Jews were influenced by Greek philosophy. In Rome itself there was an increasing tendency to worship the Persian Mithras, the Egyptian Isis, and the Syrian sun-god. There was a real and acute danger that our Lord should be reckoned as a popular god among 'gods many

[1] Vopiscus, *Saturn.*, 7, 8.

and lords many.' Nothing could have saved Christianity from this absorption if the Church had not sharply drawn the line between what is Christian and what is not.

Early in the third century the Emperor Alexander Severus placed in his private chapel a statue of Christ, together with figures of Orpheus, Hercules, and Abraham. Little as he knew it, his eclecticism was already belated. The Christians had already secured their belief in the truth that God is one, and that God was in Christ as in no one else. There was now no chance of Christianity becoming frittered away. Heathens had introduced religious beliefs, or rather the emotions which are connected with religion, to revive appetites which had become jaded with every other form of feasting. And the Church, as a body, had refused to lend her faith for such a purpose. The ordinary Christians, led by their bishops, had remained firm. After two centuries of struggle the Church had won. She was scarred but victorious. Heathenism had not captured the Church. It had attacked the Church by disguising itself in a Christian uniform, but it had been beaten back. The members of the Church had closed their ranks, they had shown themselves strictly exclusive, and they confronted their opponents with three weapons. The first was an apostolic confession of the faith; the second was a collection of apostolic writings; and the third was an episcopate derived from the apostles. All these three institutions were in their origin independent of Gnosticism. They were not new weapons forged to meet a new and unexpected attack. But Gnosticism taught the Church to know their value.

It was our Lord Himself who commanded His disciples to baptize all nations in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. And as it was plainly necessary that the converts

to the Christian faith should confess their belief before baptism, some formula had to be employed. Now the formula was simply an expansion of the words contained in our Lord's command, with the addition of the most essential facts in the story of our Lord's life. And though we cannot definitely say that such a formula was actually drawn up by the apostles themselves, we can say with confidence that such a formula existed within the lifetime of people who were partly contemporaneous with some of the apostles. At first sight this seems to be an exaggeration. For what we call the Apostles' Creed was perhaps not finally moulded into its present form until near the end of the fifth century, and took its shape in the South of France. If it took its present shape in Rome, it may be still more recent. It is therefore actually later than the Nicene Creed. These facts can easily be taken advantage of by any one who wishes to discredit the Creed and to assert that it is separated by a gulf of many years from the actual testimony of the apostles. But on investigation we shall find both that its substance is very primitive and that its history illustrates those difficulties through which the Church had to pass in the second and third centuries.

Let us trace the Creed back step by step. The present Apostles' Creed was used in England about A.D. 850, and it soon won an exclusive place for itself in books of devotion. But when it first came here it found a rival in possession of the field. There is a manuscript in the British Museum which gives us this older form of the Apostles' Creed used in England in the eighth century. It is as follows :—

'I believe in God the Father almighty, and in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord, who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, who under Pontius Pilate was crucified and buried, on the third day He rose from the dead, He ascended into heaven, He sitteth at the right

hand of the Father, whence He is to come to judge the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholic Church, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the flesh. Amen.'

We may regard it as almost certain that a creed practically identical with this was brought by S. Augustine and his friends from Rome to England at the close of the sixth century. The reader will immediately notice that it omits to say that the Father is *maker of heaven and earth*, that the Son was *conceived*, and that He *suffered*, and that He *descended into hell*. And no mention is made of *life everlasting*.

Pushing our inquiries still further back, we may naturally ask, (*a*) *What was the creed of Western Christendom in the fourth century, an age of creeds?*

We have a Greek version by Marcellus and a Latin version by Rufinus. The former is of A.D. 337 and the latter dates from the close of the century. They are as follows:—

Creed of Marcellus.	*Creed of Rufinus.*
1. I believe in God,	1. I believe in God,
Almighty,	the Father, Almighty, invisible and impassible.
2. And in Christ Jesus, His only-begotten Son, our Lord;	2. And in Christ Jesus, His only-begotten Son, our Lord,
3. Who was born of the Holy Ghost And the Virgin Mary;	3. Who was born of the Holy Ghost Of the Virgin Mary;
4. Who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, And buried,	4. Was crucified under Pontius Pilate, And buried, Descended into Hell;[1]

[1] The creed of Aquileia was the first Western creed to contain this thoroughly scriptural phrase. The first known creed in which it occurs is the Arian so-called 'Dated' creed, made at Sirmium on May 22nd, A.D. 359. This creed was composed in Syria by Mark of Arethusa. There is evidence to show that the phrase was previously used in Syria.

Creed of Marcellus.—contd.
5. And rose again the third day from the dead;
6. Ascended into heaven, And sitteth at the right hand of the Father;
7. Whence He cometh to judge quick and dead.
8. And in the Holy Ghost;
9. Holy Church;[1]
10. Forgiveness of sins;
11. Resurrection of the flesh;
12. Life everlasting.

Creed of Rufinus.—contd.
5. Rose again the third day from the dead;
6. Ascended into heaven, Sitteth at the right hand of the Father;
7. Whence He shall come to judge quick and dead.
8. And in the Holy Ghost;
9. Holy Church;
10. Forgiveness of sins;
11. Resurrection of this flesh.

It is interesting to notice that both these forms of the creed omit the word 'Catholic' before 'Church.' The first Western creed in which this word occurs in that of Nicetas of Remesiana in Dacia, which is about A.D. 390. Nicetas also has the statement that Christ 'suffered,' and omits the words 'invisible and impassible.' Other evidence exists to show that the word 'suffered' came into the Western creed in the fourth century and the word 'Catholic' a little later. Nicetas is also the first to show the words 'communion of saints' in the creed.

We must now ask, (*b*) *What was the Western creed between* A.D. 300 *and* A.D. 200?

That a 'rule of faith' existed in Western Christendom at this period is certain. We find it both in Rome and in that part of Africa where the Latin language and civilisation prevailed. About A.D. 200 Tertullian, a fervent defender of Christianity, shows us

[1] The word 'Catholic' as applied to the Church is as old as the time of S. Ignatius, A.D. 110. But it is not found in a creed before the time of Nicetas. The clause 'Communion of Saints,' which also first occurs in Nicetas, means, as Nicetas shows, that in the Catholic Church, as opposed to 'pseudo-churches,' the saints and righteous of every age are united. In the English *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition* of 1543 this clause is explained, (*a*) as the mutual participation of the saints in spiritual gifts; (*b*) as 'the most blessed sacrament of the altar.'

the belief of Roman Africa in his day. He speaks of the 'rule of faith,' and in no less than three passages he gives us a slightly paraphrased form of it. In one of these passages he uses the word *suffered* in reference to Jesus Christ. He shows that his creed contained mention of the Holy Ghost and of the resurrection of the flesh, but the precise form of the last section of the creed is rather obscured by his paraphrases. But S. Cyprian of Carthage, who flourished in A.D. 250, shows us that the words which ended the creed in his day were: 'the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, and eternal life, through the holy Church.' Near the time of S. Cyprian, Novatian, a presbyter of Rome, quotes a few expressions from the creed, which he calls 'the rule of truth.'

It is important to notice that the Western creed in the third century probably did not contain the word 'only' before Son (unicum, μονογενῆ). The word really means 'only-begotten,' which is either taken from some old versions of *Genesis* xxii. 2 or from *S. John* i. 14. The word μονογενής was seized upon by the Valentinian Gnostics, who gave it as a title to a semi-divine spirit called Nous. Perhaps in consequence of this fact, orthodox Christians in the East decided at an early date to apply it openly to God the Son. But its appearance in the Roman creed is later. It was not omitted because the Roman Church either doubted the genuineness of S. John's Gospel or doubted the truth contained in this word. And its omission is not of serious moment, as the words 'Father' and 'Son' in the creed plainly imply that our Lord's relation to the Father is quite unique.

It will, however, be noticed that the table of the creed of Marcellus given above omits the word 'Father.' But the book of Novatian *De Trinitate*, and a treatise written by Dionysius, Bishop of Rome, A.D. 259, show clearly that this word was recited in the Roman creed

in the third century. The creed of Tertullian, however, agrees with that of Marcellus in omitting this important word. Moreover, when Tertullian summarises the faith of the Roman Church, he says: 'It recognises one God, the Creator of the universe, and Christ Jesus,' etc.[1] It therefore seems probable that the word 'Father' began to be used in the Roman creed soon after A.D. 200. A good explanation of this fact is that it was inserted in order to counteract a heresy then prevalent at Rome. Many people in Rome and its neighbourhood were attracted by the heresy of Monarchianism as taught by Sabellius and others. This heresy insisted on the Unity of God in such a manner as to deny any real Trinity. The Son was taught to be a mode of the Father's manifestation, and thereby confused with the Father. It was taught that the Son did not really exist as a Person until He came into the world, and thus it was denied that the Father was eternally and essentially a Father. Against any such error the present phraseology of the Apostles' Creed is a valuable protest.

Now, until the time of Tertullian, the Church of Rome used Greek as its ordinary language. It was a half-Eastern Church. We are therefore obliged to ask a new question, (*c*) *What is the relation of the Western creeds to the Eastern creeds?*

Creeds first became prominent in the history of the Eastern Church during the fourth century. At that time the Eastern Christians composed so many creeds that it has been thought that they could not have long been in possession of a fixed traditional creed, otherwise they would not have been so ready to make experiments in dogmatising. But in dealing with the Nicene Creed we shall see that many Eastern Christians had at that time a very effective reason for composing new creeds. And if we come to ask when they first

[1] *De Praescript.*, 36.

obtained a fixed creed, a most unsatisfactory answer is given by writers like Harnack who hold that Eastern creeds are later in date than Western creeds. They say that the Eastern creeds are directly dependent upon the Western, and that the old Roman creed was carried to Antioch soon after the Emperor Aurelian interposed in the disputes then connected with the heretical bishop Paul of Samosata, A.D. 272. This theory possesses obvious attractions both for those who wish to regard Rome as the centre of all ecclesiastical order and truth, and for those who wish to reduce the number of those lines of historical evidence which support the Christian faith. These writers would readily admit that in the East there were certain well-known formulae with regard to the three Persons of the Trinity, and they would admit that there was a summary of faith used at baptism. But they would deny that there was a formulated creed analogous to the Roman creed.

It is impossible for us to state here the evidence at our disposal. But it may be said with certainty that there are several indications that before A.D. 270 there were local creeds in Egypt, Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine. For instance, the baptismal questions used at Alexandria during the third century show a marked resemblance to the Roman creed, and yet do not appear to have been derived from Rome. Dionysius,[1] Origen,[2] and Clement[3] show clear traces of an Alexandrian creed. In A.D. 348 Jerusalem had a complete creed independent of the Nicene creed of A.D. 325, and it was used as a basis for the instruction of catechumens. It shows great similarity to the Roman creed in the final clauses, but two important differences at the beginning. It speaks of *one* God, and *one* Lord Jesus Christ. These words are ancient and apostolic phrases. They occur in 1 *Cor.* viii. 6, and *Eph.* iv. 4-6. They

[1] Eus. *H.E.*, vii. 6; vii. 8; vii. 9.
[2] *In Joann.* xxxii. 9; *in Exod.* v. 3.
[3] *Strom.* vii. 15.

alone are sufficient to show the great improbability of the Jerusalem creed having been derived from that of Rome. The neighbouring Church of Caesarea furnishes us with a parallel case. When the Council of Nicaea was discussing what creed the Church ought to adopt in order to exclude the heresy of Arius, Eusebius, the famous bishop and historian of Caesarea, produced a creed which the assembled bishops accepted as the basis of the new creed. Eusebius said that his creed was 'according as we received from the bishops who were before us both when we were catechised and when we received baptism and according to what we have learned from the holy Scriptures, and as we have believed and been in the habit of teaching in our own presbyterate as well as in our episcopate, so we still believe, and lay the statement of our belief before you.'[1]

These words of Eusebius in reference to catechetical instruction for baptism obviously suggest a course of instruction like that delivered by S. Cyril at Jerusalem in A.D. 348. Now, S. Cyril's lectures were based upon a formulated creed, and if Eusebius had wished to describe a formulated creed he could hardly have chosen more exact language to describe it. And as Eusebius was born about A.D. 260, it is scarcely credible that the Roman creed was introduced into Antioch about A.D. 272, travelled to Caesarea, and was regarded as a traditional creed by the time that Eusebius was baptized! Therefore if we once admit that Eusebius did lay a formulated creed before the Council of Nicaea we are compelled to reject the notion that the Roman creed was introduced into the East at the close of the third century. Previous to that period the state of Church affairs makes it more probable that the creed travelled from the East to Rome than from Rome to the East.

Let us assume then that in the third century there

[1] Socrates, *H. E.*, i. 8.

existed a creed or creeds in the East substantially the same as that used in the West. Or, if we still feel some hesitation, let us at least admit that in the East there were recognised phrases used in the preparation of candidates for baptism, and that these phrases were closely analogous to the Western creed.

We now come to our last point, (*d*) *Comparison shows that the Western creed of* A.D. 200 *was more conservative than the Eastern, and that it represents a creed used in the West, and probably in the East, at the beginning of the second century.* That the early Western creed was in Greek is universally recognised, and the phrases in which it was expressed had parallels in the East, as can be shown from the writings of S. Ignatius, A.D. 110, and S. Irenaeus, who came from Smyrna about the middle of the second century, and became Bishop of Lyons in A.D. 177. But the Roman or Western creed omitted certain phrases which are contained in the writings of S. Irenaeus. It seems certain that the Roman creed did not contain the phrase 'Maker of heaven and earth,' nor call the Lord Jesus Christ 'one' and 'only-begotten,' nor say that He 'suffered.' These short omissions are highly significant because they show a mutual coherence. Each has a distinct bearing on the Gnostic controversy, and each combats a distinct Gnostic error. For the Gnostics denied that the supreme God made heaven and earth, they asserted that while 'Jesus' suffered and died, 'Christ' did not suffer; and they gave the title 'only-begotten' to one of their aeons or semi-divine spirits. In the same way the word 'one' before 'Lord Jesus Christ,' which was used by S. Paul to assert Christ's unique Lordship, was specially useful against the Gnostic doctrine that the Christ was distinct from Jesus. In the Eastern creeds which lay behind the creeds of the fourth century, all these phrases were embodied. And in S. Irenaeus we find the phrases 'Maker of heaven and earth,' 'one,'

and 'suffered.' The creed of S. Irenaeus, which itself belongs to the middle of the second century, therefore appears to be more modern than the old Western creed. It contains the repudiation of errors which were not present to the authors of that creed. We therefore conclude that the old Roman or Western creed is earlier than the great Gnostic controversies, that is, it is earlier than A.D. 125. And if, as seems probable, there was an Eastern creed earlier than the time of S. Irenaeus and substantially identical with the old Roman creed, the birth of these twin creeds, or it may be this one creed, can most reasonably be placed within the first century.

While we cannot keep the mediæval tradition that the later form of the creed was uttered in twelve different clauses by the twelve apostles, we can find nothing extravagant in the belief of the fourth century that the Apostles' Creed really came down from the apostles. The history of its development shows very plainly that the Church did not invent dogma as a form of intellectual diversion or as an instrument of oppression, but simply to preserve the faith once delivered to the saints. The same principle will be discovered again in our study of the Nicene and the Athanasian creed.

§ 2. *The Nicene Creed.*

The first quarter of the fourth century brought the Church new dignity and new burdens. The Emperor Constantine was passing from a pagan form of Monotheism to Christianity, and gave the Church the same official status as the established heathenism. Though he was not baptized until he was on his deathbed, he made it clear that he preferred Christianity to paganism, and he showed a warm interest in the welfare of the Church. Just as the Church was beginning to enjoy the advan-

tage of an alliance with the State, it was thrown into confusion by an inroad of opinions which challenged all its central doctrines.

About A.D. 319 a dispute occurred at Alexandria between Alexander, the bishop of that great see, and a popular and ascetic priest named Arius. Alexander, an intelligent theologian of the school of Origen, had laid stress upon the true Divinity of Jesus Christ, and maintained that His Divine nature is eternally being begotten by the Father. And 'the Son,' he said, 'being ever present with Him, the Father is ever perfect.' This statement, which exactly corresponds with the deeper doctrine of the New Testament, touches a point which had been controverted during most of the third century.

A certain number of Christians, living in pagan surroundings, and sometimes newly converted from paganism themselves, laid a mistaken stress upon the unity of God. There thus arose two different schools of Unitarians. The first explained the Holy Trinity as only three different activities of one Person, and the second regarded Jesus Christ as only a man who had been adopted as Son of God at His baptism. The first school was led by Sabellius, and we have already suggested that it was to oppose his teaching that the Church in Rome inserted the word 'Father' into the first clause of the Apostles' Creed. The Church by inserting that word in this clause showed that the Father is personally distinct from the Son, and that we cannot describe God as 'Son-Father' as Sabellius did. The second Unitarian sect was led by Paul of Samosata. He taught that God had a double Logos or 'Word.' The first dwelt in Him as our reason dwells in us, and the second and inferior Word was an influence given by God to act in Jesus Christ. Both these sects of Unitarians believed that they had properly safeguarded the unity of God. They had not really done

so, for Sabellius had represented the nature of God as changeable, and Paul of Samosata had represented Jesus Christ as a demi-god. And both had denied that there is any complete Fatherhood in God, for they had both denied that the Son of God is His Son in the truest sense. The same denial of the Fatherhood of God was involved in the teaching of Lucian, who like Paul taught at Antioch. He simplified the teaching of Paul by saying that the Logos who dwelt in Jesus was not a mere divine influence, but a semi-divine Person who acted as a soul in His human body.

Now Arius was a pupil of Lucian, and when his bishop Alexander maintained the true Fatherhood of God and the true Divinity of Jesus Christ, he opposed him by teaching as follows:—

1. A father must exist before his son. Therefore the Son of God, whom S. John calls the Word, did not exist eternally with the Father.

2. The Word, not being eternal, was created before time began, in order that He might be the agent of God in creating the world.

3. The Word, being a creature, is in all things unlike the Father. He might have sinned, and He does not know the Father perfectly.

4. The body of Christ had no human soul; the place of the soul was taken by the Word.

This all looks simple and logical, and its attraction no doubt mainly consisted in this apparent simplicity. It is not grossly pagan like the teaching of the Gnostic sects which worshipped a large number of gods and spirits. But Arianism is essentially pagan, for it teaches man to believe in one true God and one demi-god. The Catholics said quite truly that Arianism was polytheism. In recording this fact it is worth noting that Cardinal Newman in one of his most famous books used a most unhappy argument in defence of the often extravagant veneration paid by the

Roman Church to the Blessed Virgin. He urged that after the Arian controversy Catholics became conscious that the throne in heaven which the Arians had assigned to Jesus Christ was vacant, and gradually placed Mary upon that throne.[1] But the whole force of the Catholic argument against the Arians was that there was no such throne whatever, and that it was sheer heathenism to believe that there was. The Catholics saw that the Arian Christ was a demi-god, and that Christianity does not admit demi-gods.

Arianism, in spite of being so easily comprehended, was the product of several distinct streams of thought. On the whole it represented the theology of the 'man in the street' at Antioch. But Arius and his companions were trained in the methods of debate which were popular in the circles which then affected the philosophy of Aristotle. They devised catch-questions adapted to different classes of hearers and intended to puzzle and convert an opponent. They would ask a mother whether she was a mother before her child came into being, and would then lead her to say that God the Father was once not a Father. They would ask young people whether a thing existed before it was made, and would then persuade them that the Son did not always exist. It seems too that Arianism was connected with opinions previously current in Alexandria. The notion of a Logos who was not quite divine, and who was employed to create the world, is very like the doctrine of Philo, the half-Jewish, half-Greek philosopher of that city, and it has parallels in the writings of Plato. And some of the Arians were influenced by Origen, the great Christian writer of Alexandria, and made use of some of his statements which affirmed the dependence of the Son upon the Father. What in Origen were badly expressed truths they turned into

[1] J. H. Newman, *Essay on Development*, pp. 405, 406 (edition of 1845).

dangerous falsehoods. They were able to give a biblical colour to their heresy by quoting the passages in Scripture which assert this dependence, such as 'My Father is greater than I.' By a skilful misuse of such texts the Arians appeared to avoid a rejection of the Scriptures. And this nominal retention of the Scriptures and their pretended common-sense view of the unity of God gave the Arians a foothold among superficial Christians.

It may seem that in describing Arian doctrines we are only devoting our attention to theological ghosts. But they are ghosts which still walk the earth. Arianism sometimes appears again when least expected. In the sixteenth century the followers of Socinus carried a modernised form of Arianism over a large part of Europe and planted the seeds of modern Unitarianism. In the eighteenth century many English Presbyterians became Arian. At the beginning of the nineteenth some Presbyterians in Ireland and many leading Congregationalists in America became Arian. And although at this moment genuine Arianism is extremely rare, it is quite common to find people speaking and writing about Jesus Christ in a manner which would only be logical if the speaker or writer accepted Arian doctrine or something very like it.

So close is the connection between the doctrine of our Lord's Divinity and all other Christian doctrines, that in every form of Arianism all the distinctive features of Christianity disappear. The husk remains, but the whole kernel is gone; there is no full revelation of God, no divine Holy Spirit, no redemption, no sacramental grace. Moreover, the Arians illustrate the fact that it is possible to think on the lines of logical syllogisms and yet to neglect all higher logic. They professed to defend a rigid Monotheism, yet they continued to worship Christ while denying Him to be really divine. They also argued that the divine Father must be older than His Son, because they knew that a

human father is older than his son. But they forgot that we call a man the son of his father, not because he is younger than his father, but because he has derived his life from his father.

In order to deal with Arianism the Emperor Constantine summoned the Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325). It ended in a quick defeat of the Arian party and the adoption of a creed which was intended to exclude the possibility of Arianism ever finding an entrance into the Church again. The creed was based on that of Eusebius of Caesarea, as we have seen in the previous section of this chapter. Eusebius was a man of great learning, and what would at the present day be called a 'safe man,' able to guide the Church 'through the channel of no-meaning, between the Scylla and Charybdis of Aye and No.' But the Council saw that on this occasion the Church must say either Aye or No. So they adopted the creed of Caesarea, but inserted several significant phrases, which are here printed in italics.

'We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible.

'And in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only begotten, *that is of the substance of the Father,* God of God, Light of Light, *very God of very God, begotten not made, of one substance* (*homo-ousios*) *with the Father,* by whom all things were made, *both the things in heaven and the things on earth;* who *for us men and* for our salvation *came down and* was incarnate, and suffered and rose on the third day, ascended into heaven and cometh to judge the living and dead.

'And in the Holy Ghost.'

Among the most prominent opponents of Arianism was Athanasius, who was present at the Council, and was elected Bishop of Alexandria on the death of Alexander in A.D. 328. He became the pillar of

Catholicism until his death in A.D. 373. Most of this period was occupied by a long and weary struggle. The opposition to the Nicene Creed assumed every form which ecclesiastical and political resource could give it. At first there was a coalition of various parties, comprising every one from the outright Arian to the mild ecclesiastic who disliked the term *of one substance* because he thought the term might encourage the Sabellian doctrine that the Son and the Father are identical, or because the word substance might be interpreted in a materialistic sense. There was some ground for this fear. For *substance* had been used by the Stoics exactly in the sense of *matter*. But the Catholics made it plain from the first that they were not employing the word in this sense. And the strong insistence which Christians had always laid upon the truth that God is a Spirit, made any misapprehension of the term very improbable. Every intelligent person understood that in calling the Son *homo-ousios* with the Father the Church meant that He is completely God, possessing the same perfect power, love, holiness, and knowledge as the Father.

It soon became evident that the Arian coalition was united not by its own positive belief, but merely by its protest against the Nicene Creed. The fact that the Arians felt obliged to draw up one Arian creed after another shows that they were not securely united. In A.D. 357 they split. The extreme Arians insisted on teaching that the Son was actually 'unlike' the Father. The more moderate and reverent Arians immediately became alarmed and took up a position which may be called Semi-Arian, but which is also Semi-Nicene. While rejecting the term *homo-ousios*, they said that the Son is *homoi-ousios*, 'of like substance' with the Father. Then an unscrupulous clique of men who enjoyed the favour of the court realised their opportunity. They saw that to succeed in the race of life

it is sometimes best to carry the weight of very light convictions. They suggested the fitness of maintaining that the Son is like the Father, and adding as little more as possible. They ignored the fact that this was no solution of the problem, and that men, whatever they might say, must believe in either more or less than a 'similarity' of Christ to God. Their success lasted only so long as the emperors persecuted their opponents. At the accession of the pagan emperor Julian they collapsed.

The final establishment of the Nicene faith throughout the Empire took place in A.D. 381, when a Council was held at Constantinople at the command of the Emperor Theodosius the Great. This Council was not intended, like that of Nicaea, to be a General Council of the Church, but it received universal consent, and has therefore always been reckoned as the second General Council of the Church. The Council ratified the Nicene Creed.[1] The Council also seems to have expressed approval of another creed, which is practically our so-called Nicene Creed, and which gradually pushed the original Nicene Creed out of use. The history of our Nicene Creed is complicated and interesting. We owe it to S. Cyril of Jerusalem, who inserted into the ancient creed of his see the most important terms of the Nicene Creed. By this admirable combination he was able both to keep Arianism at bay and to teach his people those beautiful truths which are summarised after the words 'I believe in the Holy Ghost.'

Our Nicene Creed first appears in a treatise called *The Anchored One*, written by Epiphanius, Bishop of

[1] It has been lately asserted that this Council was really 'neo-orthodox' rather than orthodox, and that it only accepted the word *homo-ousios* in the sense of *homoi-ousios*. This theory represents the Christian Church as officially accepting Semi-Arianism. The theory rests on a serious mistake. *See* the article by Mr. J. F. Bethune-Baker, B.D., in *Texts and Studies*, vol. vii. No. 1, Cambridge University Press, 1901.

Salamis, about A.D. 374. He had lived at Eleutheropolis, about thirty miles from Jerusalem, and so his acquaintance with it can easily be accounted for. But how this creed came before the Council of Constantinople it is difficult to determine. It has been suggested that Cyril, who had himself been a Semi-Arian, brought it forward to prove that he was now orthodox. But it is not probable that his orthodoxy was then under suspicion. His old leader, Meletius of Antioch, who had also been a Semi-Arian, and had been wonderfully converted to the Catholic faith while preaching in his own cathedral, was the president of the Council. As Meletius was accepted by the Catholics without question, Cyril was probably accepted with equally little hesitation.

Another possible explanation is that Epiphanius, Cyril, and others may have recommended it as a profession of faith to Nectarius. When only a layman, and as yet unbaptized, Nectarius was elected Bishop of Constantinople during the session of the Council. The election was one which was more popular than successful, for Nectarius proved too much of a society man. However, we are not here concerned with his biography, but only with his baptism. There is no doubt that his baptism and consecration took place at this time, and he must have made a profession of faith then. It probably was recorded in the Acts of the Council, simply because it was the creed which the new prelate of that great city professed before the assembled bishops. And there is also some slight ground for thinking that during the episcopate of Nectarius it became the baptismal creed of the Church at Constantinople.

At the third General Council of the Church, which was held at Ephesus in A.D. 431, we find no mention of any creed except the old Nicene Creed. But when the controversy broke out between the Catholics and the

Eutychians in A.D. 449, we find Flavian, Bishop of Constantinople, referring to the new creed. And when the heresy of the Eutychians was condemned at the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451, the two creeds were both read and formally ratified. The intrinsic superiority of the new creed now caused it to rise steadily in favour. The Emperor Justinian in A.D. 533 said that the 150 Fathers who met at Constantinople 'made clear' the teaching of the Nicene Fathers. Afterwards he treats it as an actual recension of the Nicene Creed, and finally a Council at Constantinople in A.D. 553 identified it with that creed. It may be called the Nicene Creed in the sense that it incorporated the heart of the original Nicene Creed. But it is only justice to S. Cyril of Jerusalem to remember that we owe it to his wisdom and his piety, and we shall value it all the more when we recollect that it is the work of a man who had himself passed from the mists of Semi-Arianism into the 'Light of Light.'

The latest addition to this creed was that of the words 'and the Son' after the sentence which states that the Holy Ghost 'proceedeth from the Father.' These are first found in use at the fourth Council of Toledo, in A.D. 589. Their subsequent history, like that of other important liturgical changes, is involved in the history of the Emperor Charles the Great. The phrase *Filioque* was sung in the creed used in the imperial court, and in A.D. 809 the emperor held a Council at Aix-la-chapelle which supported this usage. Pope Leo III. not only opposed the interpolation, but even caused two silver shields on which the creed had been engraved in Greek and Latin, without *Filioque*, to be set up in S. Peter's at Rome. The papal plan was for a time successful, but the custom of Northern Europe triumphed at last in A.D. 1014 when the Emperor Henry II. prevailed upon Pope Benedict VIII. to adopt the interpolated creed into the Mass at Rome.

Against this interpolation the Eastern Churches have steadily protested. But although the Orientals are right in asserting that the interpolation was made without sufficient authority, it remains true that the doctrine which is thereby expressed can find support in Scripture, and also in the language of some Eastern Fathers of the Church who lived before the separation of the Eastern and the Western Churches in A.D. 1054. Recent discussions show that difficulties as to the doctrine itself could in all probability be amicably settled, or, rather, that they do not really exist. And therefore no member of the Church of England need feel that he is condemning the Eastern Churches when he asserts the 'double procession' of the Holy Ghost.

§ 3. *The Athanasian Creed.*

The Athanasian Creed, as it is popularly but wrongly called, is rather a psalm than a creed. But before we consider its meaning, it is necessary to speak of the controversies that followed the defeat of Arianism.

1. In A.D. 362 a certain Apollinaris became Bishop of Laodicea. As a theologian and a writer he became one of the most conspicuous ecclesiastics of his age. When the pagan emperor Julian endeavoured to degrade Christianity by depriving Christians of the opportunity of studying Greek literature, Apollinaris and his father set themselves to counteract his efforts. Apollinaris did his part by putting the New Testament into a series of dialogues modelled on the dialogues of Plato, thus endeavouring to make every educated Christian at home with one of the most distinctive forms of Greek literature. Apollinaris also wrote numerous commentaries and was one of the champions of the Nicene Creed. Soon after he became a bishop his teaching showed that his anxiety to combat Arianism was leading him to the opposite error. It was

condemned in several Councils, and Apollinaris finally broke with the Church in A.D. 375. He wished to secure the infallibility and the sinlessness of Christ. But he concluded that our Lord could not be infallible if He had a human mind, and could not be impeccable if He had a human will. He therefore said that Christ, though possessed of a human body and a physical life, had only one nature, and that nature divine.

It is important to observe that in arguing against Arianism he accepted a fundamental Arian tenet. The Arians said that the body of our Lord was truly human, but that He had no human spirit, the place of the spirit having been taken by the divine Word. Apollinaris admitted this, with the difference that he declared the Word to be essentially divine and not half divine. He declared that Jesus Christ comprised within Himself three elements—human flesh, a fleshly soul, *i.e.* physical human life, and the divine Word. Christ had no human *nous* or rational soul, and therefore He could not err or sin. The result was summed up in the phrase, *We confess that there is one nature of God the Word which was incarnate.* God and flesh made one nature, the flesh was divine because joined with God, and the body of Christ was only a passive instrument of His Divinity. The Catholic Christ was denounced by Apollinaris as a hybrid being like a Minotaur. Some of his followers seem to have held that even the body of our Lord was not truly human, but was only a transformation of His Godhead.

Apollinaris expounded his theory with such ingenuity that he rendered opposition extremely difficult. But his Catholic opponents saw that a Christ who had not taken the most essential and most distinctive element in man was not really Man at all. Apollinaris certainly wished to be reverent, but he had nevertheless conceived of the Son of God as only taking that soul which man shares with the lower creatures. A man

who has a physical life but not a spiritual intelligence is not a man but an animal. The Apollinarian Christ is not really our Saviour at all. For, as S. Gregory of Nazianzus says, 'that which was not taken was not healed.' The Apollinarian Christ could experience no genuine mental trial or temptation, and the manhood which is so pathetically real in the Gospels became the very thing about which men were most in doubt. The statement of the Athanasian Creed that our Lord has a 'rational soul' as well as human flesh, and the statement that there was not any 'change of the Godhead into flesh,' are a permanent record of the fact that the Church repudiated the teaching of Apollinaris.

2. The opposite extreme to the doctrine of Apollinaris was taught by the celebrated Theodore of Mopsuestia and by Nestorius, who maintained that Jesus was a man with whom God gradually connected a divine personality. Theodore's doctrine of the Person of Christ does not start out from the idea of One who is God of God from eternity and then became man. He wished to show, in opposition to the Apollinarians, that the humanity and the Godhead of Jesus Christ were entirely distinct. So he kept them both before his mind's eye and then endeavoured to combine them. The result was that Theodore taught not that the Word became flesh, but that the Word took a human person into union with Himself. The connection between the divine Word and the human person was said to be similar to that which exists between God and his saints. Christ was thus not one agent, but two agents. The human person of Christ therefore developed morally in the same way as we develop, and, quite consistently with his whole theory, Theodore held that the human Christ might have yielded to temptation. Such a theory is not an innocent speculation. It aims at the heart of Christian doctrine. It says with one breath that Christ was God, and that

He could nevertheless have wished to be the enemy of God. The fact of the redemption is also threatened. For with such a Christ the redemption of man ceases to be the gift of a real new birth, and becomes only the gift of an admirable moral example.

Against the teaching of Theodore and all similar opinions the Church has always maintained that our Lord is one agent, and that His human nature had no existence whatever until the Son of God created it for Himself. The divine Person of the Son of God forms the only personality which the human nature of Jesus ever had or could have. Thus the Athanasian Creed asserts, 'Although He be God and Man, yet He is not two, but one Christ'; and, 'as the rational soul and the flesh are one man, so God and Man is one Christ.' This illustration of the Athanasian Creed cannot be pressed without some danger; it does not show us a complete parallel. It reminds us that Christ is one, and that as the personality of man remains in his soul after death has separated his soul from his body, so the Person of Christ truly existed before He took a body. On the other hand, this illustration is not intended to suggest that Christ had only one *will*. The Church had already maintained against Apollinaris that the manhood of Christ is complete, and that He has a truly human will as well as that divine will which He possessed from all eternity.

Theodore never fully developed the errors which were latent in his own doctrine. What that doctrine really meant was understood when it was taught in a popular form by Nestorius, a priest of Antioch, who was Bishop of Constantinople in A.D. 428. A presbyter of Nestorius, named Anastasius, preached a sermon in the cathedral church of Constantinople, in which he attacked the use of the word *Theotokos* or *Mother of God*, a title which had been applied to the mother of our Lord from at least the earlier half of the third century.

Now, Theodore had also objected to this title. He had attacked it as if it implied that Mary was an agent in the production of our Lord's Godhead, an opinion too foolish and profane to have ever entered into any intelligent Christian mind. Nestorius, a partisan of the teaching of Theodore, naturally supported his presbyter, and the whole Christian Church became involved in the controversy. S. Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria, wrote to Nestorius and protested. The two prelates then both appealed to Celestine, Bishop of Rome. Celestine supported Cyril, and Cyril in A.D. 430 held a Synod at Alexandria which declared Nestorius to be a heretic. At the same time he published twelve anathemas condemning the teaching of Nestorius. These anathemas were joined to his third letter to Nestorius. The latter published twelve counter-anathemas, and, thanks to the favour which he enjoyed with the emperor, he obtained the convocation of a General Council of the Church. The Council met at Ephesus in A.D. 431, and it affirmed the creed of Nicaea and condemned Nestorius. The Nestorians, after their final exclusion from the Church, became a powerful and cultured sect on the confines of the Greek Empire. Their missions gradually extended through the very heart of Asia and were firmly planted in China. They were influential long after the Mohammedan Khalifa Manṣûr transferred his government from Damascus to Baghdad in A.D. 763. About A.D. 1000 Baghdad abounded with Christians, and Moslem sightseers used to throng the principal church of the Nestorians. But they gradually declined under the slow oppression of the Moslems, and they suffered severely in the thirteenth century during the advance of the Mongol hordes which then devastated Asia. At present they are only represented by the poor remnant of Assyrian Christians on the borders of Turkey and Persia.

There are good reasons for believing that Nestorius

was not sufficiently acute to understand the real point at issue between himself and Cyril. But his condemnation was just and inevitable. In his sermons he says: 'A creature did not bear the Creator . . . but bore a man who was the instrument of the Godhead'; and 'I divide the natures, but I unite the veneration.' The meaning of these statements is made clearer by his saying, 'I will never call a child two or three months old God.' Nestorius did not really believe in the incarnation of the Son of God, but in a kind of apotheosis of a man. He believed that there was an increasing connection between Jesus and the Son of God, which became so close that it was justifiable to regard them as one person and worship them as one person. He thought that Jesus Christ was God *and* a man, not the God-Man. He did not really believe that the human experiences and humiliations of Jesus Christ were the experiences and humiliations of the divine Word, otherwise he would not have repudiated the phrase, *Mother of God.* This phrase was intended by the Church to guard the honour of the Son rather than increase the honour of the mother. It means that the Child of Mary is Himself divine, and not a man with whom God condescended to dwell.

Of late years there has been a distinct tendency among Christians in England and America to revive Nestorianism. The tendency sometimes arises from an honest desire to keep in contact with a truly human Christ. But it is apt to lead men into the danger of believing in a merely human Christ. Or it ends in a determination to believe that Christ had a thoroughly human personality, and had just as much Divinity as seems compatible with this belief. Hence we find the title Mother of God ridiculed, we find our Lord described in some Christian books almost exclusively by His human Name, we find it asserted that He could have sinned, or that He was destitute of omniscience

during His life on earth. In these books the fact of the Incarnation is not denied, but the idea of it wavers and grows dim. The supreme power and consolation of Christianity are gone. They have taken away our Lord and we know not where they have laid Him. For the Lord who commands our adoration and our affection is not a deified man or a God with an otiose Divinity, but the living loving God who for our salvation chose to take His place in the arms of Mary and in the streets of Zion and on the cross of Calvary.

3. The next famous heresy was that held by Eutyches, an abbot of Constantinople, whose teaching was condemned by the Church at the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451. His teaching was not unlike that of Apollinaris. He 'confounded the natures' of our Lord, representing His humanity as partly transubstantiated into His Godhead. Such a doctrine would have gone far to evacuate the moral force of Christ's human example and experiences. It would have reduced His pains and temptations to a dramatic performance. Looking backward, we can see that the numerous partisans of the various branches of Eutychianism were infected with a taint of the old Gnosticism. Under theological subtleties which would have delighted an educated Hindu, they presented men with a Saviour whom we can no longer call our Brother. The Jesus of the Gospels is both human and superhuman. The Jesus of these keen dogmatists is extra-human. He is outside humanity. He is called Man, but He is without a really human heart and human will. Like the Gnostics and the Apollinarians, these Eutychians and their successors, the Monophysites, compromised the priceless fact that God became Man without annihilating anything that belongs to the essence of manhood.

With the story of these mistakes before us we come to consider the so-called Athanasian Creed.

4. The Athanasian Creed is a canticle composed in the South of Gaul, and intended to act as a catechism for repelling the great heresies concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation which had been rife in the fourth and fifth centuries. Its authorship still remains to be settled. It has been attributed to Vincent of Lérins and Honoratus of Arles. But it is more probable that it was the work of S. Caesarius of Arles, and written early in the sixth century. Until some definite evidence is forthcoming we can only decide the question of authorship by discovering analogies to the style and theology of the creed. The closest analogies hitherto discovered are in the writings of Caesarius.[1] There is hardly anything in the creed to which some such analogy cannot be found. And this facts holds good in the case of some of its more peculiar and idiomatic expressions. S. Caesarius speaks of 'One God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity,' of a 'right faith,' of 'giving account' in the day of judgment, and uses the strange late Latin idiom 'totae tres personae,' instead of 'omnes tres personae.' Moreover, the name of Athanasius can be partly accounted for on the supposition that Caesarius was the author. However incorrect this title may be, it is known that early in the ninth century old manuscripts called this creed 'the faith of Athanasius.' The title is therefore much earlier than A.D. 800. And there is ground for thinking that Caesarius was in the habit of writing at the head of his compilations the name of some Father or writer to whom he owed some of the contents of such compilations. It is possible therefore that Caesarius himself wrote the name of Athanasius above this canticle, in the conviction that it owed a heavy debt

[1] See *Le Symbole d'Athanase*, by D. G. Morin, *Revue Bénédictine*, Oct. 1901. The question is complicated by similar phrases in Avitus of Vienne. If these phrases are quotations, the creed must probably be assigned to the fifth century.

to the writings of the saint who had defended the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation with such patient zeal.

Arles at the beginning of the sixth century was a centre of theological activity, and it was a town where the Latin language was still written with a considerable degree of purity and vigour. It had not yet become enveloped in the ignorance which was then creeping over Western Europe, and the writings of Avitus (died A.D. 523) and of Fulgentius of Ruspe (died A.D. 533), are enough to show that a special interest in the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation was then at work in Gaul. This interest was no matter of mere intellectual exercise. In the latter part of the fifth century most of Spain and much of France was ruled by the Visigoths, who were Arians and ferociously persecuted the orthodox Christians. The Burgundians were also Arian. And on the one side was Arianism and barbarism and the royal courts, and on the other side the Catholic bishops with their intellect, their political influence, and the common faith which they shared with the more cultured inhabitants of the country. The latter professed a definite Christianity; the religion of the former is admirably illustrated by the story of the Visigoth ambassador who said, 'It is no harm if a man passing between heathen altars and a church of God makes his reverence in both directions.'[1] There could be no better comment on the result of teaching that Christ was really a demi-god. The comment is only properly understood when we realise that this toleration towards the worship of false gods was not always extended to the genuine worship of Christ. For the Arian was an envoy of Leovigild, who in his later life became a champion of Arianism and the last great persecutor of the orthodox Christians of Spain. His successor, Reccared, A.D. 586, became a Catholic, and

[1] Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* v. 44.

corresponded with Gregory the Great, the Bishop of Rome who sent Augustine to England.

In the Churches of Western Europe the Athanasian Creed came into the daily service of Prime during the eighth century. This daily use lasted in England throughout the Middle Ages. But Cardinal Quiñones, in the reformed breviary from which Cranmer derived important hints for the compilation of our Prayer Book, restricted the use of this creed to Sundays. Such is the modern Roman rule. Cranmer still further restricted its use, for in A.D. 1549 he only directed it to be used at the festivals of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and Trinity. In 1552 seven Saints' days were added to these six festivals. But though he restricted the number of times on which this creed is to be said, he extended a knowledge of the creed itself. For as long as the use of the creed was confined to the service of Prime, its repetition by the laity must have been comparatively rare.[1] But Cranmer assumed that the laity would ordinarily attend the English Mattins in their parish churches, as many of them had attended the longer Latin Mattins. And by placing the Athanasian Creed in the service of Mattins, he gave effect to what were probably the wishes of S. Caesarius himself, viz. that the creed should serve as an instruction in the central truths of Christianity. It was unfortunate that he assumed that the original version of the creed had been in Greek, and therefore published a translation of it which was less accurate than if it had been taken direct from the Latin. It would certainly be better if we could have a translation with 'Whosoever wisheth to be saved' instead of 'Whosoever will be saved,' and that we should

[1] It had been printed, however, in the Salisbury Primer of A.D. 1536. And the *Mirrour of our Ladye* (A.D. 1530) takes for granted that lay people will be present at the singing of the Athanasian Creed at Prime.

say that our Lord is 'Perfect God : perfect Man, having a real existence with a rational soul and human flesh' instead of declaring that He is 'Perfect God and perfect Man : of a reasonable soul, and human flesh subsisting.'

The doctrinal teaching of the creed ought to be made perfectly intelligible and luminous to every educated Christian congregation. The 'dividing the Substance' of the Godhead still continues. For we have still to contend with the half-pagan notion that the Holy Trinity is a triumvirate of three gods mapping out separate spheres of work. The 'confounding the Persons' of the Godhead still continues. For we have still to contend with the Sabellian reaction which regards the Holy Trinity as three aspects of one Person, and thereby denies that there eternally existed within the Godhead the spirit of fatherhood and of sonship and of society in loving intercourse. The true doctrine of the Trinity, like the true doctrine of the Incarnation, lies close to the deepest needs and convictions of the human heart. The man who deliberately and consciously rejects those doctrines cannot remain exactly where he was before. And the Athanasian Creed condemns such a rejection. It does not condemn ignorant unbelief, but apostasy. It asserts that for a Christian to give up those Christian doctrines about God is to forfeit his chance of salvation. And in the face of attacks more polished and therefore more dangerous than that of the Visigoth and the Burgundian, we may reasonably ask ourselves whether this much-criticised clause of the Creed is not as true as it is logical.

NOTE TO CHAPTER II

Works recommended. Dr. H. B. Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*; Dr. W. Sanday, *The Journal of Theological Studies*, Oct. 1899; Oct. 1901; Rev. A. E. Burn, *An Introduction to the Creeds and the Te Deum*, and *The Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1902; Prof. Friedrich Loofs, *Symbolik oder Christliche Konfessionskunde.*

CHAPTER III

APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION

A feeble, wavering line.
Where are they tending?—A God
Marshall'd them, gave them their goal.
MATTHEW ARNOLD, *Rugby Chapel.*

ONE of the unhappy results of the divisions of Christendom is that they have hardened men in the habit of maintaining false antitheses. People become accustomed to think 'If Christianity implies *this*, it cannot possibly imply *that*,' until the habit of so thinking becomes a second nature with whole communities and denominations. Authority in religion is set against freedom, the visible world is set against the spiritual world, the Church is set against the Bible. Types of Christianity which occupy a *via media* do not encourage these antitheses. The Eastern Churches and the Anglican Church have avoided them and not encouraged them. They are conscious that the truth is all the greater when it includes two sides, and that simplicity of doctrine is often a serious embarrassment to the human soul. On the contrary, modern Roman Catholicism has lately shown that one-sided development which enjoys antitheses, and a certain type of modern Protestantism, especially in Germany, may be truly said to revel in them. It is the victim of acute reaction. Not only the popular preacher, but even the profound professor, waves before us the torn flag of

divided truth. For instance, we are told that if God is brought near to us by the preaching of His word, we require no sacramentalism to enter into union with Him. We are told that if we have an inward appreciation of God's message, all outward forms of creed and worship may be regarded as indifferent. We are told that if we believe in the common priesthood of all believers, it is quite unnecessary to maintain a hierarchical ministry.

In England these are facts of daily experience. Those who hold that the ministry and the sacraments of the Church are part of a divinely constituted organisation, are asked whether they admit that those who are outside this organisation can go to heaven. And when a reply is given in the affirmative, the questioner says, 'If a Methodist or a Congregationalist can be saved just as much as a Churchman, what is the use of an episcopal form of government?' Sometimes the argument is piously concluded with the assertion that no constitution was framed by Christ for the Church except in the promise 'Where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them.'

Now, this argument rests mainly on two assumptions: (1) that an external succession of lawful clergymen contradicts the idea of a society of brethren who follow Christ; (2) that we can approach God in a manner as independent as God's approach to us. The former assumption ignores the fact that the Catholic theory recognises all the great endowments given by Christ to every member of His Church, and teaches that the affairs of the Church are the affairs of every member of it. In reference to the latter assumption we may say that the truth that God actively convinces and guides men who are outside the Church cannot be assumed as any proof that this visibly organised Church was not intended to be the

special home of salvation. There is a false antithesis in the theory. The fact that our Lord seems to assert definitely that the heathen nations who have done works of compassion and self-denial will be welcomed by Him into eternal life did not keep Him from saying 'He that obeyeth not the Son shall not see life.' The fact that S. Paul teaches that the Gentiles of upright life who do 'by nature' the things of the law will be justified in the day of judgment did not render the apostle less keen to 'establish the law' in the eyes of the Gentiles to whom he preached Christ. Again, it seems plain from *S. John* iii. 5 that our Lord taught that baptism is strictly necessary to salvation. Yet the Greek Church is surely not departing from the spirit of Christ when it teaches that infants who die unbaptised receive the light of the Gospel in Hades, and thus implies that they are being prepared for heaven.[1] For all Christians recognise that the mercy and justice of God do cause Him in certain cases to act independently of the laws which He lays upon us. The very fact that God forgives sin and remits the eternal punishment which He has declared to be the result of sin, reminds us that He can change the operation of His own rules. But we know that though His loving-kindness is shown in this forgiveness, we are as strictly forbidden to sin as if there were no forgiveness possible. In the same way, if the teaching of Christ be found to point towards a certain form of Church organisation, we cannot reasonably doubt that this organisation is binding upon us, in spite of the fact that He will save men who have lived outside it.

The present chapter can deal only with apostolical succession. In popular controversies a complete confusion is often made between three distinct questions—apostolical succession, episcopacy, sacerdotalism. A society of Christian men might conceivably claim to

[1] H. T. F. Duckworth, *Greek Manuals of Church Doctrine*, p. 35.

have any one of these characteristics without the other two, or any two of them without the remaining one. Jesuit writers who attached little value to episcopacy maintained the principles of sacerdotalism, and some Presbyterians who reject episcopacy attach a high value to apostolical succession. As a matter of fact, these three characteristics are generally upheld together, and this is especially the case in the Anglican and Eastern Churches. But they are distinct, and must be considered separately.

Apostolical succession means that no man is legitimately qualified to exercise the ministry of the Christian Church unless he receives his authority from a source which runs back to the apostles by a lineal historical succession. The apostolical descent of the clergy is thus an integral feature of the apostolical descent of the whole Church. Every priest in the ancient Christian Churches, Eastern and Western, Greek, Roman, and Anglican, has received ordination at the hands of a bishop, every such bishop has received his authority to ordain from a bishop who preceded him, and thus in an unbroken line there is secured a connection with the apostles and with Jesus Christ himself. It is hard to see why the statement of this fact should be met with incredulity. A continuous chain of Christian literature exists which shows to us that this principle of apostolical succession was recognised as much in the third and fourth centuries as in the thirteenth and fourteenth. It can be tracked through the second century, it is strongly stated in the letter of S. Clement of Rome near the end of the first century, and its root and impulse is found in the New Testament.[1] And it

[1] The principle is stated by Tertullian, *De Praescript.* 32, A.D. 200, Hippolytus, *Philosophoumena*, A.D. 230; Origen, *De Princip. praef.* 2, and IV. 2. 2, A.D. 225; Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* IV. 33. 7, A.D. 185. It was therefore clearly recognised before it was expounded by S. Cyprian in the middle of the third century.

is also hard to see why it should be thought an exorbitant and irritating assertion when the Christians who have such a ministry deny the validity of a ministry which is without the sanction of this apostolically received commission.

The reasonableness of the assertion can be illustrated in the simplest fashion. The undergraduate members of a college in Oxford or Cambridge might wish to be under the authority of a student of high character and genuine learning who was not a member of their own university. They might elect him to be their instructor, and might attend his lectures with unequalled regularity. The fact would still remain that the necessary background for the student's position would still be wanting. He would not be a fellow of the college whose members he instructed unless the head of his college and the genuine fellows appointed him. He might assume even the title of Professor, but he could send no one to gain enlightenment in a college library or provide him with food in a college hall, and he could not 'present' his pupils when they wished for a degree. Even if his own teaching was wide and thorough, he could not be a university in himself, and if he wished to extend his usefulness he would be compelled either to connect himself with the original university or to found a new university of his own. In the latter alternative, he certainly could not claim that his university was the original institution or a branch of it.

In the same way the Churches which have a ministry of apostolical descent fully admit that the teachers of other Christian communities may possess excellent natural qualifications and many genuine spiritual gifts, but they do not admit that there is any clear ground for believing that such teachers can either remit sin or bestow the Holy Spirit or feed human souls with the body and blood of Christ, or have any share

in bestowing that gift of spiritual authority which S. Paul describes as given by the laying on of his hands. They furthermore assert that Christianity has been woefully divided and weakened by the action of such teachers. It is not urged that those same teachers do not share in that Christian priesthood which belongs to all baptized persons. It is not urged that they are doing no good in the world because they are separated from the apostolical society, which is the true home of the baptized. 'Forbid him not,' said our Lord of the man who cast out devils in His name, while not following the apostles. But an injunction not to forbid beneficent work did not necessarily imply that the man was doing as much good as he might have done in union with the apostles, still less did it imply a sanction of deliberate opposition to the work and teaching of the apostles. We cannot be in the fullest sense Christ's people unless we live under Christ's polity.

The modern rejection of the doctrine implied in apostolical succession is sometimes deliberately based upon a particular theory. The theory is that the apostles received directly from our Lord no commission or office of government, but only a commission to bear witness to Him by their preaching and healing. The government which the apostles came to exercise after our Lord's ascension is explained as the result of the reverence and homage paid to them by the Christians of the Holy Land, and by those of Jerusalem in particular. The importance of this theory can be seen at once. For, if it is true, it implies that the apostles received their authority to govern by delegation from below, and that no direct divine commission to govern was given to them. Divine providence merely guided the congregation at Jerusalem to recognise the apostles as their rulers in religion. According to this theory, the responsibility

of choosing a form of government was left by Christ to the Church as a body. Moreover, those who hold this doctrine usually hold that each local Church or congregation may choose its own form of government, and that any Christian may be regarded as a minister of the Church if he is first conscious of an inward call from God and then chosen by a number of believing Christians as their minister. Thus the organisation of the Church, or the organisation of any congregation of it, is a matter 'to be determined by saved people, not by consecrated priests.'[1] And there are not wanting some who assert that the variety of organisation thus produced does not break the unity of the visible Church. It is asserted that the Church would still remain one and the same *visible* Church, however many specific forms of government it might assume, provided its members were united by faith and love.

Before we consider the evidence of the New Testament with regard to the office of the apostles, it is worth while to consider the exact circumstances in which the theory which rejects apostolical succession was first introduced into modern Christianity. Such a consideration is not at all unfruitful. For if the theory arose as the result of an unbiassed and prolonged investigation into the origin of the Christian Church, it would plainly have a strong moral claim upon our attention, though not necessarily a claim upon our adhesion. If, on the other hand, it was suddenly propounded in the heat of controversy, if the authors of it hoped to save themselves from a very difficult predicament by propounding it, if they never examined it with real care, the theory must excite in us a certain degree of suspicion. Now the circumstances are of the most suspicious character possible. We know exactly what they were, and they were just as unsatisfactory as the circumstances which surrounded

[1] A. M. Fairbairn, *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 547.

the growth of certain papal innovations. The theory of the ministry which repudiates the need of apostolical succession was started by Luther and Zwingli when they were urging the laity to act in opposition to the bishops.

Luther came into collision with the system of the Church at a time when it was notoriously corrupt. Early in the sixteenth century the Popes were recklessly indifferent to religious interests, and used their authority for the purpose of gathering a heavy money-tribute. The Pope demanded enormous sums from the men who were appointed to archbishoprics, very much as the Mohammedan Sultans have done in the Turkish empire. The Archbishop of Mainz reimbursed himself by the sale of indulgences, and Luther protested against this sale. In A.D. 1520, when he had already been excommunicated by the Pope, though shortly before he received the sentence, he published his *Address to the Christian Nobility*, in which he appealed to the nobility to reform abuses. In this address we find the first assertion of the Protestant theory of the ministry. It is assumed that all the congregation possess equal power. His next address, *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, further expounds the Protestant theory of the ministry, declaring that 'the sacrament of orders can be nothing else than a ceremony of choosing a preacher.' In both addresses priests are regarded simply as preachers chosen by members of the Church, their office being terminable at the will of the laity.[1] The theory supplied a doctrinal basis for Luther's appeal to the laity, and the intense provocation which led him to broach it must not lead us

[1] Consistently with this theory, some of the first Lutheran ministers were not ordained. 'The mandate of the community' was regarded as sufficient. See W. Moeller, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. iii. p. 48 (English Translation: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., London, 1900).

to suppose that these manifestos were other than one-sided and violent. He opposed the bishops because, on the whole, they sided with Rome, and when a few years later two Prussian bishops joined him, he made no attempt to secure episcopal ordination for his followers. He, at least once, went through the form of 'consecrating' a 'bishop' himself.

Zwingli's action was similar. He was a priest of unchaste life, who objected to those scandals of which he was not himself guilty. When he preached against indulgences he had the approval of his bishop. But the bishop gave no reply when Zwingli and other priests applied for leave to marry, basing their request on their own character. Nor did he see fit to support the general revolutionary policy which Zwingli was inaugurating at Zürich with the aid of the Town Council. Before Zwingli publicly married and when the tension between the city and the bishop was becoming acute, Zwingli, in 1523, stated the theory that supreme ecclesiastical power belongs to the 'secular arm.' In other words, he transferred to the Town Council the authority of the bishop. The Council acted upon the theory, regulated the services of the Church, and organised a new system without their bishop. The 'Church' was formed on the lines of the civil commune. And this State Church manifested the sincerity of its belief by drowning the Anabaptists, who had claimed that, on Zwingli's own principles, the whole commune ought to be consulted on matters of religion. It seems quite impossible to doubt this conclusion: the exaltation of the lay members of the Church and the ignoring of the clerical members on the part of Luther and Zwingli, are mainly the result of the fact that Luther and Zwingli knew that the most influential laymen were on their side, and that the most influential clerics were against them. And this explains in a nutshell the beginning of the modern Protestant rejection of the

doctrine of apostolical succession. We do not mean that Luther's action in this respect was insincere. But he was a man of headlong vehemence, as is shown by his controversy with Protestants and Catholics alike, and he hastily committed himself to a doctrine which was better supported by popular feeling than by divine revelation. It is worth noting that his learned and moderate friend Melanchthon wished to retain episcopacy. It is scarcely necessary for us to discuss Zwingli's theory more fully, as its identification of State and Church is remote from modern religious convictions.[1]

Let us now (*a*) consider the apostolic office as indicated by our Lord.

Of course we cannot believe that there is such a thing as apostolical succession unless we also believe that the apostles were appointed by our Lord to govern the Church as long as they lived. In the early days of the Church the title 'apostle' or 'envoy' was not confined to our Lord's twelve nearest companions. But the office of those companions was different in degree from that bestowed on any others. He drew them nearest to Himself in order to make them the special instruments of His teaching, and the channels of His influence after His ascension. They were His regular followers, they represented the first circle of His ever-widening kingdom on earth, and spread His message in new directions (*S. Mark* iii. 14). He sent them forth with miraculous powers and with a proclamation of the necessity of repentance (*S. Mark* vi. 7-13). Though seventy others were also sent to prepare for His own approach (*S. Luke* x. 1), it was to the Twelve that He gave special instructions adapted for their course of conduct in the distant future, when they would have to face death itself (*S. Matt.* x. 24 f.). When

[1] The action of Luther and Zwingli is correctly and briefly described by Mr. B. J. Kidd, *The Continental Reformation* (Rivingtons, 1902).

His own death drew near, His attention was concentrated on the Twelve. He appointed them a kingdom, as the Father had appointed unto Him (*S. Luke* xxii. 29). He knew that they would be sifted by Satan, but also knew that they would regain confidence in Him. Whether this kingdom be conceived of as in the next world, or whether, as is more probable, it also implies authority in this world, it does imply a real dominion.

The apostles are made viceroys of the King. Their authority is not diminished but enhanced by the fact that it is spiritual, and is to represent fitly a King who came 'not to be ministered unto, but to minister.'

The last great discourses of our Lord preserved by S. John make it yet plainer that this small circle was to be the special instrument for the extension of the truth. He had made them His friends (xiii. 34), they would perform the same work as Himself (xiv. 12), they had received the full revelation of God (xv. 15), they had been specially kept from falling away (xvii.). And if we look at the directions previously given to these disciples, we see that though their mission was temporarily limited, these directions were applicable to their future work for the simple reason that they corresponded with His own method of preaching the kingdom of God. Their office of government and their office of witnessing to Christ consequently fit together. Their function of envoys is therefore as fundamental as their function of witnesses. And although the name 'apostle' occurs less frequently in the Gospels than the name 'disciple,' it seems evident that they were made disciples in order that they might also be apostles.

It was not of the Church as a whole, but of the eleven faithful apostles that our Lord, the night before His death, said in His prayer to God the Father, 'As thou didst send me into the world, even so sent I them into the world.' It was to the chosen ten of these apostles,

who were assembled together on Easter day, that He said, 'Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained' (*S. John* xx. 23). His breathing upon them was a symbol of that gift of the Holy Spirit whereby they were able to distinguish and forgive the repentant sinner. It was not necessary that the gift of the Holy Spirit should imply this precise power in any but the leaders of the Church. The same teaching is rooted in the Synoptic Gospels. In *S. Luke* xii. 42 our Lord mentions 'the faithful and wise steward whom his lord shall set over his household, to give them their portion of food in due season.' In the same passage of *S. Luke*, and in the parallel words in *S. Matt.* xxiv. 45, the same office-bearer is described as a 'servant.' But it is plain that he is above the other servants and that he is not appointed by the household. The appointment is made by Christ himself.

Again in *S. Matt.* xvi. 19 we have the memorable words in which our Lord says that he will entrust to S. Peter 'the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' S. Peter is to be the steward of the Church as Shebna and Eliakim had been stewards in the house of David.[1] And this stewardship carries with it the authority to 'bind' and 'loose,' to prohibit or permit. The only interpretation of this passage consistent with the history of the apostolic age is that S. Peter was given the great responsibility of announcing and enforcing the conditions of membership in Christ's kingdom.

The same authority to bind and loose is given to the other apostles in *S. Matt.* xviii. 18. It is sometimes urged that it was then given to the whole Church. But it is not at all clear that this was the case. This chapter refers to the 'disciples' (*S. Matt.* xviii. 1), and there seems no reason for doubting that these are the apostles, as is suggested in *S. Matt.* xvii. 9, 10. If it be the case

[1] *Isá.* xxii. 22.

that authority was thereby committed to the Church as a whole, it yet remains certain that some special stewardship was not committed to the Church as a whole, for the passage previously quoted distinguishes the steward from the other servants. And with regard to S. Peter, it certainly seems that the concluding chapter of *S. John* is intended to describe the restoration of S. Peter to a pastoral office which he had temporarily forfeited by his three denials of our Lord. And it is worth noting that the word 'tend,' which is here used to describe his duty, is that used in *Acts* xx. 28 to describe the duty of the Christian presbyters. It is used in exactly the same sense by S. Peter himself in 1 *S. Peter* v. 2.

We may now (*b*) consider apostolical succession as exemplified in the action of the apostles.

We find in *Acts* the same principle as that which we have just outlined in dealing with the Gospels. S. Matthias is elected to fill the 'office of oversight' left vacant by the suicide of Judas (*Acts* i. 20). There are modern writers who regard such passages as dramatic inventions, just as there are also writers who deny that Judas ever committed suicide. But if we accept the truthfulness of the very primitive narrative at the beginning of *Acts*, we cannot account for the position of the apostles without recognising that the apostles had a distinct governing office. They appear in *Acts* not only as the nucleus but also as the teachers and directors of the new society. The society 'continued stedfastly in the apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers' (*Acts* ii. 42). That is to say, the Church recognised that the apostles had the presence of Christ with them in teaching, in disciplinary legislation, and in worship, with which three functions the Synoptic Gospels connect the promise of that presence. S. Peter and the other apostles claim to be the witnesses of Christ.

They teach both the Christians and the Jews, they administer the funds of the community, they form a *company* of their own distinct from the *multitude* of believers (iv. 23, 32; cf. xv. 22). In the case of Ananias and Sapphira S. Peter exercises the office of a judge, to the fear of the Church. He plainly performs this solemn work without a commission from the Church.

A devolution of apostolical authority now became necessary. The apostles could not by themselves perform the whole work of the ministry. Seven new officers were appointed for charity organisation. They received no commission from the community as a whole. The community 'choose' them, but the apostles 'appoint' them, and they do it by the laying on of their hands (*Acts* vi. 3-6). Both in this particular instance and in others the relation of the Seven to the Twelve is distinctly that of subordinates to superiors. Stephen and Philip, though primarily appointed to superintend the alms of the Church, worked miracles and preached the Gospel, and Philip baptized and spoke under direct inspiration. But Philip, in spite of his great gifts, could not convey the Holy Spirit to the baptized. The believers of Samaria had to be confirmed by the apostles themselves (viii. 15 *sqq.*). Throughout these early chapters of *Acts* we find that the apostles did not make a mere claim to be respected, but assumed that they had a right to be obeyed. The history of the important Christian Church of Antioch shows the same principle. Philip had gone there as an evangelist, and we find other individuals starting Christian work with special marks of divine sanction. The epoch-marking new departure in this work was the preaching of the Gospel to Greeks. The apostles immediately establish a connection with Antioch by sending Barnabas thither, and the disciples at Antioch accept his exhortations. They also

acknowledge that the Church at Jerusalem contains certain definite rulers. For they send alms for the relief of the poor in Judaea 'to the *presbyters* by the hands of Barnabas and Saul' (xi. 30).

This is the first passage where we find mention of the presbyters. The title seems to be taken from the Jewish synagogues, in which a body of elders or presbyters exercised the important duty of deciding whether a member was to be admitted to or expelled from a congregation. It seems probable that the term was first used by the Christians in a wider as well as in a more specific sense. For S. Peter,[1] S. Paul,[2] and S. John,[3] all refer to themselves as presbyters, although they were all above the specific class which bore that name. *Rev.* iv. 4 seems to include twelve Jewish and twelve Gentile apostles among the four and twenty elders enthroned near the Lord. And in *Acts* xv. 22, 32 we find that the prophets Judas and Silas were associated with the 'company' of the apostles and presbyters. The apostles and presbyters of Jerusalem acted together to preserve the unity of the Church when the vital question arose as to the circumcising of Gentile converts. 'The apostles and the presbyters with the whole Church' held a meeting at Jerusalem, and directions were sent to the Gentile Christians in the name of the apostles and of the presbyter brethren aforesaid. It was because the Church at Jerusalem contained the apostles at the time of the Council that it was able to issue authoritative advice to the Church of such an important city as Antioch.

Before the Council assembled at Jerusalem for this great purpose, S. Paul and S. Barnabas had ordained presbyters in every Church in Asia Minor (xiv. 23). Among the Jews the presbyters were purely disciplinary

[1] 1 *S. Peter* v. 1.
[2] Implied in 1 *S. Tim.* iv. 14; 2 *S. Tim.* i. 6.
[3] 2 *S. John* i.; 3 *S. John* i.

officers, but if these Christian officials were left in charge of separate Churches they must have performed directly spiritual functions. This is made plain to us by the notable passage *Acts* xx. 28-31, where S. Paul speaks of the presbyters of Ephesus as appointed to tend the Church as its shepherds. The continuance of the office of the presbyters at Jerusalem is shown by their presence with S. James on the occasion of S. Paul's last visit to that city (xxi. 18). And S. James in his Epistle assumes the existence of presbyters in every community to which his Epistle is addressed, for the presbyters are to be called upon to anoint and pray for the sick members of their flock.

The evidence of S. Paul's epistles supplements that of *Acts*. In some Gentile Churches there was a very rich outpouring of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, such as prophecy and the power of healing. And the possession of such gifts is not very clearly distinguished from the possession of an official ministerial position. No doubt these powers were sometimes combined in one and the same person, as was the case with S. Paul and others who are mentioned in *Acts*. In 1 *Corinthians* we find the mention of apostles, prophets, and teachers, and then the holders of miraculous gifts. It is quite plain that S. Paul regards all those who possessed these powers at Corinth as being under his own authority. His directions imply this throughout. In *Romans*, written soon afterwards, we find apostles—among whom are numbered Andronicus and Junias—prophets and teachers. A deaconess, Phœbe, is also mentioned. If there were deaconesses at Rome, there would in all probability be deacons too. There were also persons miraculously endowed with powers beneficial to the Church. The 'governments' or powers of government mentioned in *Corinthians*, and the capacity for 'presiding' mentioned in *Romans*, are regarded as gifts of the Holy Spirit, but how far they included anything

which we should now term miraculous we cannot decide. In *Ephesians* iv. 11, after the apostles and prophets we find evangelists (such as Timothy), and shepherds who are teachers.

Acts x. 44 ff. shows us that in the very earliest days of Christianity there was a case where 'the gift of the Holy Spirit' was given before the laying on of hands and even before baptism. Ordinarily, however, the Holy Spirit, whose presence was taught by our Lord to be essential for the Christian life, was not bestowed without the laying on of the apostles' hands. And the apostles ruled the whole community of the 'Spirit-bearing' body. We are therefore justified in saying that, in whatever way they received their powers, the prophets, teachers, and those who manifested powers of government, could exercise no ministry independent of the apostles. And the case of S. Paul and S. Barnabas receiving the laying on of hands at Antioch shows us that even the most exalted inspiration did not dispense the inspired person from the duty of seeking official recognition from the authorities of the Church. But we can go much further than this. There is no proof that any men who received the capacity to teach and govern the Church, with the exception of the apostles, ever received this capacity apart from the laying on of the hands of the apostles or their appointed delegates. Therefore, if we were to assume that either the normal indwelling of the Holy Spirit, or the gift for governing and teaching the Church, is granted to any Christian apart from the medium of a divinely appointed ministry, we should certainly assume what can neither be proved nor even rendered probable. It is here that the *Pastoral Epistles* corroborate the doctrine implied in *Acts*.

Before we discuss these Epistles, it is necessary to say something more about S. Paul's own apostolic office.

There are writers who are more or less willing to

admit that the apostles received from Christ an office of government, and that the apostles appointed presbyters and deacons. They nevertheless urge that apostolical succession is not necessary to the validity of holy orders, because no trouble was taken to secure ordination for S. Paul through the Twelve. S. Paul's own language in *Gal.* i. 1 excludes the idea that he received any apostolical ordination. When hands were laid upon him, as recorded in *Acts* xiii. 3, it was only for the purpose of setting him apart and blessing him for a special mission. And yet he regarded his authority as equal to that of any other apostle. He rebuked S. Peter and he ordained presbyters himself. He was the legate of Christ, endued with authority of the most ample kind, and this authority was recognised by the original apostles. On the basis of this fact it is argued that if a candidate for the ministry is called by Christ, it is sufficient for other such ministers or leaders to recognise his call, even if neither they nor he can trace back their descent to the apostles. Hence we are confronted with the dilemma that 'if it is necessary for the validity of orders that the apostles themselves or their lineal successors should confer orders, then S. Paul was never a Christian minister.'

Such an appeal to the validity of S. Paul's position mistakes S. Paul's own arguments. It seems to be quite true that when hands were laid upon him, it was only for the purpose of setting him apart and blessing him, and that he received no ordination at the hands of any Christian ministers. But this was simply because he was appointed an apostle by Christ Himself. He claimed to be 'the least of the apostles,' but yet as truly an apostle as those who had lived with the Lord. The argument which tells us that S. Paul was not a Christian minister, if apostolical ordination is necessary to a valid ministry, might with equal propriety be

directed against the ministry of S. Peter. 'How shall they preach,' says S. Paul, 'except they be sent?' He believes that he had been sent, as the original apostles were sent, by a direct and visible mission from Christ. And there is nothing to show that the presbyters appointed after his missionary work in Asia Minor, or his disciples, Timothy and Titus, were allowed to suppose that a call from Christ, or even a call from Christ followed by the approval of their congregations and a blessing from non-apostolical officials, was a sufficient appointment. There is direct evidence to the contrary. For the presbyters in Asia Minor were appointed, we are told, by the laying on of the hands of Paul and Barnabas, and the same thing was done in the case of Timothy. Any doubt as to S. Paul's view about the significance of the rite is removed by his own statement that by the laying on of his hands Timothy received a special hallowing gift, which, in consequence of this rite, was 'in' him, and which he ought to employ actively.[1] He seems to say to Timothy, 'You are in the line of apostolical succession, you have received a power which you could not have without that succession, see that you commend this supernatural power to all men by submitting to its influence.'

Timothy and Titus themselves are to ordain other officials, and to exercise authority over the presbyters. Timothy's position at Ephesus seems to be more than temporary. As S. Paul is writing in expectation of immediate death, and says that he is 'ready to be offered,' we are certainly justified in thinking that S. Paul's command—'do the work of an evangelist'—was intended to remain in force after the apostle's decease. Moreover, S. Paul plainly intends both Timothy and Titus to provide a supply of duly qualified and ordained ministers for their respective districts.

[1] 1 *S. Tim.* iv. 14; 2 *S. Tim.* i. 6.

Now, there would be quite as much need for the continuance of this supply after his own death, and so Timothy and Titus would naturally continue in authority as chief pastors. It may be urged that we have no right to assume that those two delegates were successors of the apostles in any but a limited sense. That is true: the apostles in one sense had no successors. No one had like them the privilege of being commissioned to witness to the fact that they had seen the risen Christ with their outward eyes. But the power which the apostles had to teach nations, to found Churches, to ordain ministers, and to exercise judicial authority, was a different thing. It had to be continued in some fashion if Christianity was to survive at all. And it is precisely this power which we find S. Paul transmitting to Timothy and Titus. They were specially endowed with it, and all those who had it could, in a true sense, claim to be successors of the apostles. One most important duty of these two officials was to 'guard the deposit' of the faith, and 'hold the pattern of sound words.' These injunctions point to a time when the apostle will no longer be able to direct them, and Timothy is bidden to commit this deposit to 'faithful men who will be able to teach others also' (*2 S. Tim.* ii. 2).

The Epistles to Timothy and Titus anticipate the last stage of development reached by the close of the apostolic era. For the *Revelation* of S. John, written some thirty years later, in speaking of the 'angels' of seven Churches in Asia Minor, seems to imply that in each of these cities there was one official like Timothy or Titus set over the presbyters. The word 'angel' means 'messenger,' and therefore much resembles the word 'apostle' or 'envoy.' But these 'angels' are not exempt from the oversight of S. John's own inspired care. In the same way Timothy and Titus are, under the apostle Paul, the sole rulers of their

respective Churches. In other respects also these Epistles seem to gather up threads of information imparted to us elsewhere. In *Philippians* i. 1 S. Paul had mentioned the *episkopoi* (translated 'bishops' in A.V. and R.V.) and deacons of their Church, and in his address to the presbyters of Ephesus, recorded in *Acts* xx., we find these presbyters called by the name of *episkopoi*, whose function it is to 'shepherd' or 'tend' the flock. It would thus appear that shepherd, presbyter, and *episkopos* were different names for the same class of officers.

The New Testament shows us that the authority of the apostles was fundamental and ultimate. No ministerial gift was independent of that authority. And they detached from themselves, at successive epochs, three grades of the ministry. First, an order charged with the care of the poor, and also empowered to preach and baptize. Next, the order of presbyters or *episkopoi* (overseers) exercising the oversight of the Churches from which the apostles were obliged to be absent, or acting as subordinate coadjutors of the apostles. Thirdly, men such as Timothy and Titus, who were given the power of transmitting the ministry. They are not called bishops, but were bishops in the sense in which that word was used early in the second century as well as in our own age. Some further consideration of this point will be found in our next chapter. In these Epistles also the diaconate is mentioned as a definite office. The moral qualifications of the deacons and the duties which they have to fulfil, throw light on the otherwise obscure mention of 'deacons' at Philippi.

We can fitly conclude our review of the teaching of the New Testament, with regard to the human channels through which the grace of ordination is conveyed, by noticing the letter of S. Clement of Rome, written to the Corinthians about A.D. 95. It is one of

the earliest books, and perhaps the very earliest book, written after those contained in the New Testament. It is very possibly a little earlier than the Revelation of S. John. It was written by the leading Christian in a Church which was probably already the first Church in Christendom, and was clearly regarded as a most eminent Church some fifteen years later by S. Ignatius. It was written where S. Peter and S. Paul had both laboured and died. And the writer is a man of true piety and of well-balanced convictions. He is free from any one-sided bias, and is in touch with the thought of various apostolic writers. If we could anywhere reasonably expect to find an accurate view of the apostles' own teaching with regard to the ministry, we should expect to find it in S. Clement.

And S. Clement entirely confirms the foregoing interpretation of the Pastoral Epistles. His argument implies the principle of apostolical succession so clearly that it is difficult to dispute it. It has indeed been said that he is only inventing a new theory,[1] but this cheap method of minimising his evidence cannot be fairly reconciled either with S. Clement's own tone or with a belief in the genuineness of S. Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus. It is unnecessary to quote more than a few sentences of this letter by S. Clement:—

'The apostles were sent to us with the Gospel from the Lord Jesus Christ, Jesus the Christ was sent forth from God. Christ then is from God, and the apostles from Christ; it happened in both cases in due order by the will of God. They then having received commandments, and having been fully assured through the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, and confirmed in the Word of God, with full assurance of the Holy Spirit, went forth preaching the Gospel that the kingdom of God was about to come. Preaching then in country

[1] So Harnack, *Expositor*, third series, vol. v. p. 332.

and towns they appointed their first-fruits, when they had tested them in the Spirit, as *episkopoi* and deacons of those who were about to become believers.'[1]

Again he says:—

'Our apostles also knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be contention about the title of the episcopate. Therefore on this account, having received perfect fore-knowledge, they appointed the aforesaid [*episkopoi* and deacons], and subsequently gave an additional injunction in order that, if they fell asleep, other approved men might succeed to their ministry. They, then, who were appointed by those [apostles] or subsequently by other distinguished men[2] with the consent of the whole Church, and who have exercised their ministry blamelessly to the flock of Christ with humility, quietly and unostentatiously, and have had good witness borne them by all men again and again, these we do not think to be justly cast out of their ministry.'[3]

He apparently still calls the presbyters by the title *episkopoi*, for after protesting against the expulsion of certain men 'out of the episcopate,' he says:—

'It is shameful, dearly beloved, yes, utterly shameful and unworthy of the life in Christ, that it should be reported that the very steadfast and ancient Church of the Corinthians, for the sake of one or two persons, is making sedition against its presbyters.'[4]

It would be difficult to imagine stronger evidence to the effect that the apostles appointed office-bearers to be their successors in certain functions of their office

[1] *Ad Cor.* c. 42.

[2] It is not quite clear whether these men were the contemporaries of the apostles or not. But they were apparently such men as Timothy and Titus. Clement's whole argument shows that he held that no men possessed authority unless they were connected with the apostolic government, and that no one received authority from below.

[3] *Ad Cor.* c. 44.

[4] *Ibid.* c. 47.

which were intended to be perpetual. And this interpretation holds good, whether 'the approved men' mentioned by S. Clement are represented by him as succeeding to the ministry of the apostles or of the office-bearers appointed by the apostles.

We hold, then, that apostolical succession is a fact, and that it is a security for the valid administration of the Church and sacraments. It represents the care of the Holy Spirit who inhabits the Church. It is part of our Lord's plan for the furtherance of His kingdom. We have no security that we really receive certain gifts of God unless we avail ourselves of a ministry founded on this principle. Without this ministry we cannot be certain that we receive the gift of the Holy Spirit in confirmation, or the gift of Christ's body and blood in holy communion or the remission of sins. The truth or falsehood of apostolical succession is bound up with the sacramental system. Now the idea that certain spiritual gifts and powers are connected with certain outward and visible forms is one that is extremely repugnant to many modern minds. In some quarters which are professedly Christian it has so long been the custom ostentatiously to ignore or depreciate the sacramental system that a wholly artificial view of it has been created. Sacramental worship is regarded as mere routine, and ecclesiastical organisation as an incubus. How artificial this temperament is, how opposed it is to the analogy of physical life, we cannot now point out. But we must call attention to the fact that the New Testament, as it stands, is intensely sacramental. And though some people are now accustomed to think of an elaborate ceremonial as requisite for the fostering of sacramental belief, the Church was intensely sacramental in those primitive ages when paganism and persecution made an elaborate Christian ceremonial out of the question. S. Irenaeus and Tertullian knew nothing of any Christian worship

celebrated amid the splendour of architecture and music, sculpture and embroidery, but their views on the sacraments are precisely what would now be attacked as 'ritualistic.'

That the New Testament is permeated by the sacramental principle is shown conclusively by the manner in which it is now treated by the anti-sacramentalists. Modern Protestantism of the more orthodox type seldom retains so reverent a belief with regard to the sacraments as may be found in the writings of Luther and Calvin. And even writers of this more orthodox type are forced to put a strained meaning upon the sacramental passages in the New Testament. The result of this wresting of the Scriptures is now manifest. The less orthodox Protestants, particularly on the continent of Europe, freely deny the genuineness of such passages, or assert that if genuine they are the product of illusion. The supernatural element in religion is regarded as an encumbrance, and a substitute is found for the original Christian method of salvation. To take a few examples, we may mention that our Lord's command to baptize and His words about the foundation of His Church are repudiated, the passage in *S. John* which speaks of the Bread of Life is said to be a discourse invented to teach a form of Platonic theosophy, the date of *Acts* is placed in the second century because the book contains 'hierarchical pretensions,' and the Epistles to Timothy and Titus are specially relegated to a date incompatible with their Pauline authorship.

In fact the New Testament seems to show conclusively that within the apostolic age a certain law of vital growth was at work in the various communities which formed the organism of the Church. For a while the form of government varied, but it always varied within certain prescribed lines. As the miraculous ministerial gifts became less frequent, the vital energy within the

Church expressed itself in one particular form, under the guidance of the apostles themselves. The New Testament restrains us from thinking that the apostles were not really officers of the Church, and that their authority grew up in a natural fashion without any formal command from Christ. There is nothing in the whole of the New Testament which really supports the view that either the universal Church or any local Church can originate its own government. And the notion that our Lord permits His Church to remain a visible unity while exhibiting a kaleidoscope of polities—Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Methodist, and Salvationist—is as paradoxical as it is modern. It is just as paradoxical as the assertion that England would remain a visible political unity if it were divided between King Edward, the Socialists, and the favourite of the White Rose League.

NOTE TO CHAPTER III

The best works on the subject of Apostolical Succession and Episcopacy are *The Church and the Ministry* by Dr. Charles Gore, now Lord Bishop of Worcester, and *Ministerial Priesthood* by Dr. R. C. Moberly.

CHAPTER IV

EPISCOPACY

Holiness on the head,
  Light and perfections on the breast,
Harmonious bells below, raising the dead
  To lead them unto life and rest.
  Thus are true Aarons drest.

GEORGE HERBERT, *Aaron.*

§ 1. *Episcopacy in the Primitive Church.*

THE last chapter assumes that in New Testament times the presbyter (translated 'elder' in the English versions) was identical with the *episkopos* (translated 'bishop' in the English versions). This is ordinarily assumed to be the case by both Anglicans and Presbyterians. If they were distinct classes of officials, it is extremely difficult to explain such verses as *S. Titus* i. 5, 7, or 1 *S. Peter* v. 2, where the duty of a presbyter is described by the verb *episkopein.* And it is still more difficult to explain *Acts* xx. 17, 28, where the same persons are certainly called both presbyters and *episkopoi.* The theory that the presbyters were only the older and more mature disciples, and the other theory that they were only appointed to administer moral discipline, seem quite incompatible with the above verses and with *Acts* xiv. 23. In the letter written by S. Clement of Rome to Corinth about A.D. 95 these two titles are both used to designate the holders of the

same office. In the *Didaché*, a Jewish Christian manual, which was probably written about A.D. 100, the local clergy are the *episkopoi* and deacons. Above this fixed local ministry are the 'apostles' and the 'prophets' who exercise a wandering ministry from place to place. These 'apostles' are not the Twelve, but the retention of that name and of the name of 'prophet' seems to indicate a very close connection with the epoch of the Twelve. It also shows that even where episcopacy of the present type was not yet organised, the clergy entrusted with the care of each particular congregation did not act as supreme rulers of the Church.

The exact locality in which the *Didaché* was written is a matter of some doubt. But it is quite possible for us to review the history of episcopacy in most of the places where Christianity found a home at an early date. This we will now proceed to do, carefully noting each case where the facts are complicated or our knowledge is obscure. In the fourth century, when the Church had passed into the sunlight of imperial toleration, an increased interest began to be felt in Church history. Old episcopal lists, giving the succession of bishops in the great sees, began to be gathered and arranged. To these episcopal lists a very searching criticism has lately been applied. Some of their contents must be regarded as uncertain, some as very improbable, but a quite solid residuum remains which can be tested by writings of the second and third centuries.

1. With regard to *Jerusalem*, it is an established fact that it was governed first by S. James, who was not one of the Twelve, but as 'the Lord's brother' held paramount authority over the Church there. He was succeeded in A.D. 62 by Symeon, the son of Clopas, who died about A.D. 104. The names of the Jewish bishops who presided at Jerusalem during the first half of the second century are entangled in confusion, which

will probably remain inextricable. Eusebius gives us the names of thirteen 'bishops of the circumcision' who ruled the Church of Jerusalem between the death of Symeon and the second destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in A.D. 135. It is improbable, though not quite impossible, that there really were thirteen bishops in the space of thirty-one years. We are almost compelled to believe that the names, if genuine, are the names of bishops of different sees. And this is rendered likely by the fact that the Christians of Jerusalem established themselves at Pella before the first siege, in A.D. 70. Some returned afterwards to Jerusalem, but the number of Christians there must have been very small, if Epiphanius is right in saying that in the time of Hadrian Jerusalem contained seven synagogues and only one church. After A.D. 135 the Church was under the government of Gentile bishops. We cannot, however, be quite certain of the names of any before Narcissus, who lived at the close of the century. But Narcissus, beyond all reasonable doubt, was preceded by other bishops. We cannot logically say that because Eusebius tells us of too many bishops, there were really no bishops at all. Nor is it likely that a Church which was apparently under monarchical government until A.D. 104, would abandon it at the very time when there was the greatest need of consolidation. Moreover, Hegesippus, a cultured Palestinian Christian who journeyed across Christendom about A.D. 150, expected to find, and apparently did find, bishops in every place that he visited. And when we notice how universal episcopacy was in the latter half of the second century, and remember how tenacious the Church then was of apostolic doctrine, it is very difficult to suppose that the Church would have permitted without opposition, and without any contemporary record, so great a change as a change from a Congregationalist or Presbyterian government to episcopacy.

2. With regard to *Antioch*, the earliest home of Gentile Christianity, the first certain facts are connected with S. Ignatius. He suffered martyrdom about A.D. 110, and previously wrote seven letters, which still remain. He no longer uses the word *episkopos* as a title of the presbyters, but applies it to the highest of the three orders of the ministry. He speaks of bishops as 'established unto the boundaries of the earth,' and regards a bishop as essential to the existence of a Church. His tone makes it evident that he cannot have been the first bishop of his see. We therefore can find no reason for doubting the later record that he had a predecessor, Euodius, who had been appointed by S. Peter. It is well known that S. Ignatius supplies the most important testimony possible to the existence of episcopacy in his age, and that not only in Asia Minor but elsewhere. For he says that without the three orders a Church is not called a Church. It is sometimes urged that Ignatius is really speaking as a prophet and a statesman, and preaches the dignity of the episcopate because he believes that it will be useful in the troubles which loom around the Church. This view is not in accordance with the impression which would be formed by an unprejudiced reader. Ignatius insists that the bishops should be obeyed with a reverence to which they have a sacred right. He does not claim a reverence which will merely be a piece of prudent etiquette. His whole tone is that of one who regards the bishop as an essential element in the constitution of the Church, and has always associated episcopal rule with Christian life. Even when this fact is not denied, it is sometimes said that Ignatius does not believe that bishops are successors of the apostles, because he compares the presbyters with the apostles, and compares the bishop with Jesus Christ. The argument is singularly unfortunate, coming from the lips of those who oppose episcopacy. For it concedes the fact that

Ignatius believed that a bishop held by divine right the highest visible authority in the Church. He must therefore have inevitably believed that the bishop was in a most important sense a successor of the apostles, inasmuch as the apostles had also held the highest visible authority in the Church. The fact that Ignatius compares the bishop with Christ and the presbyters with the apostles is made quite easy by the explanation that he is thinking of the apostles as working under our Lord during His earthly life, and not of the apostles as ruling separate Churches and appointing the ministers of such Churches.

3. With regard to *Asia Minor*, to which Christianity came from Antioch, the first evidence that we have is historically connected with the letters of S. Ignatius. The Philippians requested Polycarp of Smyrna that his messenger might take a letter from them to the Church of Antioch, and that he would send them any of Ignatius's letters that he had. Polycarp's letter still remains. It shows that he distinguished himself from the presbyters of Smyrna. He says 'Polycarp and the presbyters with him,' and he writes in the first person. We know from Irenaeus, who remembered Polycarp, that Polycarp remembered S. John. And Clement of Alexandria, who taught about A.D. 190, and is an authority of first-rate importance, speaks of S. John establishing bishops in Asia Minor. This is corroborated by the manner in which Ignatius speaks of bishops in his letters to Ephesus and Smyrna and other cities of that region. He mentions Onesimus as bishop of Ephesus. And Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus about A.D. 190, says that he had seven of his family before him in the episcopate. Clearly, then, the probability is that S. John, who certainly ruled the Church of Ephesus, acted like S. Paul in appointing delegates of his own to rule the presbyters. Evidence is not confined to the Churches

of Ephesus and Smyrna. We know the names, and something of the history, of several of the bishops of Asia Minor who flourished in the second century. The evidence that episcopacy was widespread is irrefragable, and the probability that it was universal is overwhelming.

4. *Macedonia and Greece* received the Gospel from Asia Minor in the preaching of S. Paul, and the ecclesiastical connection between these countries remains unbroken to this day. The evidence with regard to Corinth, Philippi, and Athens is less clear than that with regard to Ephesus and Antioch. Corinth certainly had a bishop of the name of Primus about A.D. 150, and there were apparently other bishops there before him. And this is supported by the fact that S. Clement, writing to the Corinthians about A.D. 95, speaks not only of deacons and of presbyters or *episkopoi*, but also of *hegoumenoi* or *prohegoumenoi*, 'rulers or presidents.' He says, 'let us reverence our rulers: let us honour our presbyters.' It is certainly far easier to interpret Clement's letter as implying three orders of the ministry than not, though it is not clear that there was as yet one man fixed there as president over the presbyters. About A.D. 170 Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, wrote to the Athenians, mentioning that after the martyrdom of their 'president'[1] Publius, Quadratus became bishop. This carries episcopacy far back into the second century. Dionysius of Corinth also said that S. Paul entrusted Dionysius the Areopagite with the supervision of the diocese of the Athenians. It at least seems plain that in A.D. 170 the bishop of Corinth believed that the neighbouring city of Athens had always been under episcopal government. The case of Philippi is more complicated, and is a knotty point. S. Polycarp, though himself

[1] The word is one which Greek Christian writers frequently use in the sense of 'prelate.'

a bishop, does not, in writing from Smyrna to the Philippians, mention any official above the 'presbyters and deacons.' There may have been among the presbyters one who was foremost in authority, and yet called himself a presbyter, as S. Peter and S. John had called themselves. Or the Philippians may have been under the authority of some one who exercised a wandering ministry like S. Paul himself. We do not know, and we are therefore quite unable to say definitely, whether the government of the Church at Philippi was of the kind which would now be called presbyterian or whether it was episcopal. But Ignatius must have known the state of Church organisation at Philippi, and he could hardly have spoken, as he does, of bishops as 'established unto the boundaries of the earth' if he knew that there was no bishop at Philippi. And it is quite worth noticing that Irenaeus, who was himself a pupil of Polycarp and a firm believer in episcopacy, does not hesitate to apply the term 'presbyter' to bishops. He regarded every bishop as a presbyter, but certainly did not regard every presbyter as a bishop. Nor did S. Peter regard every presbyter as an apostle. We are therefore warranted in thinking that in the apostolic age and for a few generations afterwards the word presbyter was a general title for the highest officers of the Church. This does not imply that there were not definite distinctions between those officers.

5. With regard to *Rome*, very convincing evidence exists. The central importance of the city fostered an especial interest in the affairs of the Church of Rome. Various lists of the primitive bishops of Rome survive. They do not precisely agree, but their testimony is sometimes the more valuable for this very reason. If these lists, which give a full catalogue of the bishops of Rome from the time of the apostles downwards, were in minute agreement, it would be possible to

argue that this harmony was fictitious and the result of manipulation. As things are, a critical comparison of the lists shows how mistakes arose, and points us back to the correct names of the bishops. This is not the place for discussing details. We must content ourselves with asserting that in the latter part of the second century it was believed that S. Peter and S. Paul appointed Linus bishop of Rome, and that we have an uninterrupted succession of Roman bishops throughout the second century. It is quite possible that these bishops, like Timothy and Titus, were sometimes known by other titles than that of bishop. The *Shepherd* of Hermas, an allegorical book written in Rome about A.D. 140, speaks of officials named *prohegoumenoi* or rulers. It is possible that the writer deliberately chose an archaic name to suit the style of his book. But it is also possible that the word was still used at Rome to indicate the highest order of the ministry, especially as the Greek language was that ordinarily employed by Roman Christians until the third century. The probability that this word, or the kindred word *hegoumenoi*, had been employed at Rome and elsewhere for the bishops is increased by the language of S. Clement, bishop of Rome. He distinguishes the *prohegoumenoi* from the presbyters, and he implies that the threefold orders of the Jewish Church are reproduced in the Christian Church. In these circumstances it seems quite unreasonable to interpret Hermas or Clement as if they recognised no officials above the presbyters. It is certainly true that they both attach great importance to the presbyterate, and it is possibly true that they regard the presbyters and their superiors as normally acting as one governing body or college. But there is no ground for denying that one official was the necessary head of this governing body. Nor is it at all probable that in a Church of such importance and affluence as the Roman Church of the

second century, the presbyters would have surrendered their ancient rights in the manner which is suggested by those who hold that the Roman Church exchanged a presbyterian government for episcopacy. And when it is suggested that this momentous change took place after the *Shepherd* of Hermas was written, the improbability of the theory becomes glaring. For we have to assume that Hegesippus and Irenaeus, who both visited Rome, were wholly misinformed as to a state of things which existed in their own lifetime.[1]

6. With regard to *Alexandria*, the evidence is slightly conflicting. But it can to a great extent be sifted. Bishops there are mentioned by the Emperor Hadrian as early as A.D. 130. And Julius Africanus, about A.D. 220, gives a list of bishops of Alexandria for the whole of the second century. But much argument has been expended in an attempt to prove that the original government of that Church was partly presbyterian. Not presbyterian in the sense that the presbyters of the different parishes of the city were the sole authority in the Church, but in the sense that they consecrated their own bishop. According to this theory, the bishop of Alexandria in primitive times was only a presbyter of proved capacity, to whom his fellow-presbyters entrusted certain duties. Episcopacy at Alexandria was thus a highly developed phase of Presbyterianism, but nothing more. What bearing this would have upon modern Presbyterianism, we must discuss later. Before doing so, we may tabulate the evidence which is

[1] Hegesippus in Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. 22; Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* iii. 3. It has been well said that it is merely paradoxical to say that the list of Roman bishops made in the time of Anicetus, and probably by Hegesippus himself, was made in the interest of a recently established monarchical episcopacy. Such lists were first made, not to vindicate episcopacy, but to certify the doctrine of the Roman Church by showing its connection with the apostles. See Dom John Chapman, *La Chronologie des Premières Listes Épiscopales de Rome, Revue Bénédictine*, Jan. 1902. See also Appendix A below.

brought forward to prove that the Church of Alexandria was presbyterian. It is as follows:—

(*a*) S. Jerome, late in the fourth century, says that 'down to the episcopates of Heraclas and Dionysius' (A.D. 232 to 265), 'the presbyters used always to *nominate* as their bishop one elected out of their number and placed upon a higher grade, just as if an army were to make a general, or deacons were to elect one of themselves whose industry they knew, and call him archdeacon.'[1]

(*b*) In a collection of letters by Severus of Antioch, translated into Syriac by Athanasius of Nisibis, occur these words: 'the bishop also of the city renowned for its orthodox faith, the city of the Alexandrines, used in former days to be *appointed* by presbyters; but in later times, in accordance with the canon which has prevailed everywhere, the solemn institution of their bishop has come to be performed by the hand of bishops.'[2] Severus knew Egypt from A.D. 518 to 539.

(*c*) Eutychius, an Arabic writer of the tenth century, says that until the time of Bishop Alexander (died A.D. 328) the twelve presbyters of Alexandria appointed their own 'patriarch' by the laying on of their hands.

(*d*) Certain heretics are said to have reproached an orthodox Egyptian hermit, Poemen, by saying that the archbishop of Alexandria, whom he followed, was ordained by presbyters. Poemen was living about A.D. 375, when he was visited by the Church historian Rufinus. He was probably a younger contemporary of S. Athanasius (died A.D. 373).

Of these four passages, the last is a mere slander. On the most favourable hypothesis, presbyterian ordination cannot have been tolerated after A.D. 324, when

[1] *Epist.* CXLVI. *ad Evang.*

[2] See Mr. E. W. Brooks, *Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1901, p. 612.

Alexander was bishop of Alexandria. In that year a synod dealt with a self-styled bishop who was only a presbyter. It called his ordinations invalid, adding, 'and nobody doubts it.' S. Athanasius himself was consecrated bishop of Alexandria in A.D. 328 by various 'bishops of the Catholic Church.'

We are thus left with three statements by separate writers who were under the impression that some exceptional power in the appointment of a bishop had once belonged to the presbyters of Alexandria. What that power was, we must now inquire.

We first observe that there is a hopeless variance concerning the date when this exceptional power was believed to have come to an end. Jerome places it between A.D. 232 and 265, Severus gives no date, and Eutychius places it between A.D. 313 and 327. This variation suggests that at least one of the three was relying upon hearsay tradition rather than definite information. And Jerome is the most likely to be correct, being the earliest of the three, and a man of vast knowledge. He therefore ought to be taken at his word. He does not say, like Eutychius, that the presbyters of Alexandria used to lay hands upon their bishops. He says that they 'used to nominate' him. He does not give us the Greek word for this official act, but his Latin word seems to correspond with a technical Greek word for 'declaring elected,'[1] in a decision of the Council of Nicaea of A.D. 325. The Council spoke of this duty as a privilege belonging to the episcopal office. S. Jerome shows us that at Alexandria there was in old times an exception to this rule. The fact that it was an exception accounts quite naturally for the growth of a tradition at Alexandria that the presbyters of that city had once enjoyed something like full episcopal power. Eutychius is so grossly inaccurate on other historical

[1] προχειρίζεσθαι. See Socrates, *H. E.* i. 9; and Rev. F. E. Brightman, *Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan. 1900, p. 273.

points that he was not a likely person to test the precise value of such a tradition. Jerome, on the other hand, after speaking of the old Alexandrine custom, immediately says, 'For what does a bishop do which a presbyter does not do, except ordain?' This last remark certainly does not suggest that presbyters were ever able to consecrate a bishop either at Alexandria or elsewhere.

To this it may be replied that the orders of bishop and presbyter were probably regarded at Alexandria as so identical that nothing but an election was needed to make a presbyter into a bishop. This reply is rendered impossible by contemporary evidence. For the episcopate of Heraclas we have the writings of Origen, and, before that date, those of Clement of Alexandria. Clement sometimes only mentions 'presbyters and deacons,' but he at least twice mentions bishops in a way which distinguishes them from the presbyters.[1] Origen frequently alludes to bishops and

[1] *Paed.* iii. 12, 97; *Strom.* vi. 13, 107. The present writer is unable to agree with the opinion of the present Lord Bishop of Salisbury (*The Ministry of Grace*, p. 135) that at the end of the latter passage Clement 'shows that he has in view only two orders, the Diaconate and the Presbyterate.' For the 'Presbyterate' here is the office of the four-and-twenty elders in heaven to which the blessed may be admitted after serving a heavenly diaconate. The fact that the presbyters are the highest human office-bearers in heaven does not imply that the offices of bishop and presbyter are interchangeable on earth. The writer is equally unable to accept his lordship's statement that the Canons of Neo-Caesarea, *c.* A.D. 320, imply that Country-bishops are inferior to City-presbyters. The Canons 13 and 14 simply say: 'The Country-presbyters cannot offer the oblation in the city-church, in the presence of the bishop and city-presbyters, nor give the bread at prayer nor the cup. But if they be absent, and one be called alone to prayer, he does give. But the *Country-bishops* are a type of the Seventy, and as fellow-priests, on account of their care for the poor, they offer the oblation, being honoured.' The Bishop of Salisbury in commenting on these Canons says: 'They imply that Country-bishops are inferior in dignity to City-presbyters, but may be admitted, as an act of grace, to minister at the central altar with the Bishop and his clergy' (*op. cit.* p. 140). No doubt it was an act of grace to permit the Country-bishops to minister with the City-bishop, but these Canons

presbyters, and assumes that bishops have a traditional fixed position, distinct from the presbyters.[1] Yet they both speak of the presbyters as occupying the 'chief seat,' and in one passage Clement calls a bishop a 'presbyter,'[2] just as S. Paul includes himself in the presbyterate. Thus the two classes are, in a sense, ranked together. The meaning of this is illustrated by the *Canons of Hippolytus*, a set of regulations which were possibly compiled by Dionysius himself, and were certainly written before A.D. 235. In the directions for the ordination of a bishop it is said, 'one from among the bishops and presbyters' is to advance and perform the ceremony. The writer apparently had in his mind's eye a church with a semi-circular apse at the east end, where the bishops and presbyters sat together, as was long the custom. But does he think that a presbyter may ordain? By no means: he expressly denies it, for he afterwards adds, 'the power of ordaining is not given to a presbyter.'

Possibly the *Canons of Hippolytus* are really Roman and not Alexandrine. They then must be older than the time of Dionysius, and show us the belief of the central see of Christendom near A.D. 200. And we shall still find the early customs of Alexandria in certain versions of Egyptian Church Ordinances. One of

contain no suggestion whatever of the Country-bishops being inferior to the City-presbyters. The position of Country-bishops is discussed by Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, book II. chap. xiv. But the most unfortunate statement of the Bishop of Salisbury about the episcopate is *op. cit.* p. 132. He there quotes Epiphanius, *Haer.* 68, 7, to the effect that 'Alexandria never had two Bishops as other cities had,' and quotes it in such a way as to suggest that these Egyptian cities were not governed by a monarchical episcopate. But a glance at the context in Epiphanius is enough to discover that these cities had more than one bishop, not because the Catholics in them were governed by two or more bishops, but because the Meletian schismatics had intruded their bishops into sees held by Catholic prelates.

[1] *E.g.* Origen, *in Matt.* xv. 26; *in Luc.* xx.; *c. Cels.* iii. 30.

[2] *Quis Dives*, xlii.

these has been preserved in Ethiopic, and another in Sahidic. Both represent ordination as the work of a bishop, both distinguish the presbyters from the bishops, and both represent more than one bishop as assisting at the consecration of a new bishop.[1] All native Egyptian evidence covering the first three centuries of the Church is therefore opposed to the statements of Eutychius. It favours the fact that in the Christian Church the service of a bishop to the Church was, and is, the service of a member to the body of which he is a part, and not the service of an external governor. It is a ministry of service, not of despotism. It implies too that the bishop is, as S. Cyprian calls him, a 'fellow-presbyter' with his presbyters. He possesses no independent supremacy. But this does not justify any community in rejecting bishops, any more than the deposition of a constitutional monarch can be justified on the ground that he is not an absolute autocrat.

It is not necessary for us to give any history of episcopacy in other parts of Christendom, for the simple reasons that all available evidence goes to show that episcopacy was regarded as essential, and that the existence of it is unquestioned by the learned. For instance, it is now known that the early Celtic Church in Scotland was episcopal and not presbyterian, though definite dioceses did not at first exist, and the bishops were attached to a particular tribe, or to a particular monastery and its abbot.

The above survey of ancient Christian usage leads us to the following conclusions:—

(*a*) The normal government of the Church was episcopal from the close of the apostolic age onwards. That is to say, it is certain that the presbyters and deacons of each Church were ordinarily under the

[1] Dr. Hans Achelis in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Band vi. 1891, p. 41. See also the *Apostolic Church Order* in Band ii. 1884.

government of some superior official, and that such an official was, about A.D. 110, already called *episkopos* in certain regions.

(*b*) It is just within the range of possibility that in certain Churches the body of presbyters, as a whole, was the depository of what was permanent in apostolical authority, and that they therefore ordained other ministers, in virtue of the powers ordinarily limited to bishops having been conferred upon them in their ordination. But there exists nothing like a clear proof of any such institution.

§ 2. *Modern Episcopacy and Presbyterianism.*

There is another aspect of the question which demands attention. Let us suppose, what we have seen to be improbable, that the presbyters at Alexandria, or anywhere else, actually ordained their bishop. Would this have any bearing upon modern religious reunion? At the present time Anglicans in Great Britain and beyond it are in contact with large bodies of Presbyterians. These Presbyterians maintain their own form of government with scrupulous care, and some of them believe in apostolical succession. They are convinced that their ministers have received their commission in a direct line from the apostles, even though that line has passed through the unnecessary envelope of episcopacy. They do not dispute the validity of modern orders conveyed by a bishop, but they maintain that the orders conveyed by modern Presbyterian ministers are equally valid, and are conveyed in a more primitive Christian fashion. It cannot be denied that this claim is sometimes made with the utmost sincerity, and it is sometimes accompanied with the earnest wish that those who adhere, respectively, to the episcopal and

to the Presbyterian form of government may be able to adjust their differences.

Now the claim of these pious men involves two assumptions: (i) that the Church once sanctioned a Presbyterian form of government, which is at least unproved; (ii) that the Presbyterians of Scotland possess a lineage which secures them an apostolical succession through presbyters. We say the Presbyterians of Scotland, because it is from them that the vast majority of English-speaking Presbyterians derive their polity.

With regard to the second of these assumptions it seems important to notice that even if Severus and Eutychius are right in holding that the presbyters of Alexandria had, from apostolic times, appointed their own bishops, these presbyters themselves were ordained with the intention that they should be the depository of all that was permanent in the apostolic office. They were ordained to ordain. Now this is precisely what we cannot say of the fathers of modern Presbyterianism.

Scottish Presbyterianism was consolidated in its first form in A.D. 1560, and its official character is shown by the *First Confession of Faith* and the *First Book of Discipline*. The system contained in these books is quite clear and logical, as we should expect from any works which passed through the hands of John Knox. We find an implied repudiation of the doctrine that there is one visible Catholic Church, the one Catholic Church being described as 'invisible, knawen onlie to God'; the 'lineal descence' of ministers is also rejected. The authors of these documents, with great acuteness, saw that if there is a visible universal Church created by Jesus Christ, its structure and constitution are of primary importance. Belief in the visibility of the Catholic Church and in some divinely appointed *permanent* organisation of it seem to stand or fall together. Therefore, by rejecting the visibility of the Catholic

Church, and by representing it as the union of elect souls predestined to eternal life, they were naturally led to reject apostolical succession. The Calvinism of the *First Confession of Faith* is not very marked, and part of the book can in fact be traced to a Zwinglian summary of doctrine written by A Lasco. But the Scottish reformers appear to be strictly logical in assuming that if the Church which they had left had, as an institution, no connection with the true Church of Christ, the ministry of it was fraudulent and its apostolical succession impotent. They say that the ministers of the unreformed Church 'are na Ministers of Christ Jesus.'

The *First Book of Discipline* works out this theory. It therefore copies Calvin's *Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques* of 1541, and entrusts the government of the Church to (i) ministers or pastors; (ii) doctors or teachers; (iii) elders; (iv) deacons. Over all were superintendents, who were ten in number for the whole of Scotland. This new ministry represents a deliberate effort to create a new ministry on the lines laid down in the Epistles of S. Paul. It was not a successful effort, because the distinction between pastors and elders cannot be supported from S. Paul's writings. And while the laying on of hands by bishops is rejected as the work of 'dumb dogs,' the 'lawful ministers' are to be appointed with no outward rites but 'election, examination, and admission.' It is probable that the laying on of hands was sometimes employed in spite of being discouraged in this document. And in A.D. 1578 a *Second Book of Discipline* tried to make good the omission by ordering the laying on of hands in the ordination of ministers. But as the *First Book*, like the *Second*, seems to have been recognised as authoritative by the Presbyterians,[1] it can hardly be doubted that for several years ministers were often appointed

[1] Professor Alexander F. Mitchell, *The Scottish Reformation*, p. 226.

without any ordination, even at the hands of presbyters. They were certainly not ordained by bishops, for in the whole of Scotland there was only one bishop who both rejected communion with Rome and continued to exercise ministerial functions. This was Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney. None of the other Protestant so-called bishops had been really consecrated to the office.

In reply to this argument it has been said that though the Presbyterians at the Reformation lost even Presbyterian orders, this matters nothing for modern Presbyterianism. After the consecration of bishops for Scotland in A.D. 1610, an episcopal system was fitted to Presbyterian institutions and the ministers ordained by bishops. After the abolition of bishops in A.D. 1689, these presbyters remained, and handed on their orders to the modern Presbyterian ministers.[1] The answer surely is that even those who had received the power to be presbyters never received the power to make presbyters. When the bishop ordained them, he never intended to transmit to them the ministerial power in its fulness, and never used words which implied any such transmission. The Scottish bishops of the seventeenth century, when they ordained presbyters, did not intend to ordain men who should be in actual fact bishops while carrying the title of presbyter.

It is also sometimes stated that whatever the facts may be about the Scottish ministers, the Church of England recognised them as genuine presbyters. Now, there is only one known case of a Scottish Presbyterian minister being allowed to preach and administer the sacraments in England. The man was John Morrison, who was 'ordained' by the General Synod of the county

[1] The great majority of the ministers living in 1689 had certainly received episcopal ordination. But it must be remembered that in the time of Charles II. none of the bishops, except Mitchell of Aberdeen, insisted on re-ordaining the ministers whom they found in possession of parishes (see Grub, *Eccl. Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 218).

of Lothian, and was licensed by Aubrey, the Vicar-General of Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 1576-1583). The license granted by Aubrey contains two unusual statements. It states that it is granted 'as much as in us lies and we lawfully can,' a phrase which indicates serious doubt as to whether such a license could be given, and it also states that Morrison had, 'according to the laudable form and rite of the reformed Church of Scotland, been admitted and ordained to holy orders by the laying on of hands.' The advisability of inserting this statement was due to the fact that Morrison had been admitted in 1577, when the laying on of hands was not necessary in Scotland. When he was admitted to the Presbyterian ministry, the 'superintendent' of Lothian was John Spottiswoode, a Scotsman who had been ordained priest by Archbishop Cranmer, and had an undisguised liking for episcopacy. And we cannot be surprised that Aubrey, if he doubted the validity of Morrison's ordination, thought that he might give him the benefit of the doubt. So puzzling was the state of Church titles and offices in Scotland at this period, with 'superintendents' put in the place of bishops and the title of 'bishop' kept by Catholic priests who had only been nominated and not consecrated, that almost any blunder was excusable. If Morrison was not in holy orders, given by a real bishop, the grant of this license was a violation of the law both of the realm and of the Church of England. Aubrey must have been well aware of this fact, and therefore protected himself by saying that Morrison had been ordained in a way which suggested a valid ordination. There were a few persons foisted into a cure of souls in England after receiving ordination from the Continental Calvinists. But not one of these persons seems to have been allowed to retain his benefice when complaint was made to the proper ecclesiastical authorities. Even Archbishop

Whitgift, whose sympathy with Calvinism was very strong, forbade one William Travers, who had been ordained by the Calvinists at Antwerp, to preach at all. He added that he knew of none who had been allowed to exercise their ministry in England after being made ministers in that fashion.

An important case, sometimes quoted as an instance to the contrary, is that of William Whittingham, Dean of Durham. He lived at Geneva during the time of Queen Mary, and on the departure of Knox for Great Britain in 1558 Calvin persuaded Whittingham to act as minister of the English Calvinists. It is doubtful whether he did, or did not, receive the laying on of hands. He returned to England early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was offered the Deanery of Durham through the influence of Warwick and Leicester, who both supported the Puritans. He entered on his residence at Durham in 1563, and at once made himself conspicuous by his Puritanism. The office of a dean had no cure of souls attached to it, and could be held by a layman. Instances of such benefices being held by laymen were quite common before the Reformation, and to hold such a benefice implied no right whatever to administer the sacraments.

And Whittingham ordinarily showed little desire to perform the functions of a priest. A contemporary rhyme significantly accuses him of 'altering confession,' and in August 1566 he himself said that he had not ministered communion since Christmas 1563. His care for his cathedral church was shown by his plan for selling a peal of the cathedral bells, in which profane design he was forestalled by another thief. He turned the marble slabs on the graves of his predecessors into troughs for hogs, he employed a holy-water font for the preparation of salt fish in his kitchen, and his wife threw into her fire the banner of S. Cuthbert.

As soon as Sandys, Archbishop of York, began to

put discipline into force, Whittingham got into trouble for administering the holy communion. He then confessed 'that he is neyther deacon nor minister according to the order and lawes of this realm.'[1] He was thereon accused of 'irregularity' in administering the holy communion. This he confessed. But he tried to defend himself on the ground that he had been ordained according to the Genevan form. Sandys, being convinced that this was not the case, met Whittingham on his own ground, and asserted that he had not been called to the ministry by authority at Geneva, or received the laying on of hands. The next year, 1579, Whittingham died. The investigation had been stopped, and was never completed. If Sandys had proved that Whittingham had not received even Presbyterian laying on of hands, he would have triumphantly discredited Whittingham even in the eyes of respectable Puritans. If he failed to do this, he had at least extorted the confession from Whittingham that he was 'no minister' according to English law. The latter point therefore disposes of the objection that Sandys never raised the question of episcopal ordination, and would have been content with Presbyterian orders.

With the case of Whittingham may be compared those of Isaac Casaubon, the distinguished French Huguenot scholar, who came to England in the time of James I., and Hadrian Saravia, a Dutchman, who came to England a few years earlier. Both received a prebend at Canterbury as a reward for their eminent learning and their sympathy with the Church of England. The benefices aforesaid were both without cure of souls, and could be held by laymen. It is worth noting that Calvin, before he became a Protestant, and while a layman, held a prebend and paid a priest to say mass for him. But though Casaubon

[1] *Camden Miscellany*, vol. vi. p. 41, A.D. 1871.

and Saravia were both prebendaries, they were not both clergymen. It was never intended that Casaubon should officiate in an English church, for he never mastered the English language. Saravia, on the contrary, held the living of Great Chart in Kent. No record of his ordination has been preserved, but his own writings make it incredible that he was not ordained after his arrival in England. He came to England because episcopacy was repudiated in his own country, and his works show that he regarded episcopacy as essential to a Church. He calls bishops 'indispensably necessary to the Church,' and absolutely denies that presbyters can ordain other presbyters. His Calvinistic opponents would have rejoiced to expose his inconsistency if he had so greatly stultified himself as to neglect to receive the orders which he believed to be alone genuine.[1]

We have previously mentioned the nominal bishops and the 'superintendents' placed over the ministers in Scotland. This leads us to mention another argument which is adduced to show that the Church of England recognised the validity of Presbyterian orders. In A.D. 1604 the Convocation of Canterbury in canon 55 referred to 'the Church of Scotland' as a part of the Holy Catholic Church, and it is sometimes said that this implies that the Presbyterian ministry of Scotland was officially recognised as valid. Inasmuch as the Church of England was not only episcopal, but was at that time opposing the demands of the English Presbyterians, this sympathy for Scottish institutions appears extremely inconsistent. How can we account for the inconsistency? Quite simply. Strict Presbyterianism, as a *legally recognised system*, was dead. It was defunct

[1] This and certain other cases are briefly and effectively discussed by the Rev. Edward Denny, *The English Church and the Ministry of the Reformed Churches*, published for the 'Church Historical Society' by the S.P.C.K.

de jure, and partially defunct *de facto*. The king had already appointed titular bishops, and was intending to have them consecrated at the earliest opportunity. In A.D. 1597 an Act had been passed by the parliament of Scotland providing that any minister appointed by the king to the office of bishop or abbot should sit and vote in parliament. In 1600 the king filled the three sees of Ross, Aberdeen, and Caithness with titular bishops, and when he had a sufficient number of titular bishops to back him, he summoned a General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to ratify episcopacy. This took place in 1610; and immediately afterwards the titular bishops were consecrated. The king's policy was steady and adroit throughout. He was faithful to his maxim, 'no bishop, no king.' And it seems impossible to doubt that the action of the Convocation of Canterbury in 1604 with regard to the Church of Scotland was meant to apply to that Church as it was coming to be. It did not regard the strict Presbyterianism set up by Melville in A.D. 1592 as compatible with Catholicism. It did speak of the Church of Scotland as part of the Catholic Church when it saw that the ancient government was in process of restoration. Canons 7, 8, and 9 of the same Convocation leave no room for doubt as to the real meaning of canon 55. For they rigorously excommunicate all who maintain that episcopacy is contrary to the divine word, and pronounce them guilty of 'wicked errors.'[1]

Again, it is sometimes urged that the Church of England recognised Presbyterian orders by permitting Spottiswoode and two other titular bishops to be ordained bishops, although they had not been previously ordained priests. The argument would not be employed by well-informed writers. Such ordinations to the episcopate were not unknown in ancient times, as it

[1] E. Cardwell, *Synodalia*, vol. i. pp. 168, 251.

was believed that the lesser order was included in the greater. It is obvious that if the plenitude of ministerial authority has since the apostolic age resided in a bishop, a bishop must include within himself the powers of the priesthood. Certain bishops of Rome were consecrated without being ordained priest, and the cases of S. Ambrose at Milan, and Nectarius at Constantinople, are well known to readers of Church history. It is true that Bancroft said before the consecration of the Scottish bishops, that 'where bishops could not be had, the ordination given by presbyters must be esteemed lawful.'[1] He assumed that they had been ordained by genuine presbyters, and that they were presbyters, though not bishops. In these two assumptions he was mistaken, but neither the Church of England as a body, nor her formularies, are responsible for these errors.

We are justified in concluding this brief survey of the action of the Church of England at the time of the Reformation by saying that it was extraordinarily true to the principles which it professed with regard to the ministry. It did not adopt first one polity and then another, like the Lutherans on the Continent and the Calvinists in Scotland. It intended that the same orders which it possessed before the Reformation should 'be continued.' And this intention, expressed in the Preface to our Ordinal, has remained unviolated.

It can scarcely be disputed that episcopacy has in a conspicuous manner acted as a bond of union in all ages of the Church. The ancient Christian communities which believe episcopacy to be essential to the existence of every Church roughly include the following divisions:—

1. The communities now in union with Rome.
2. The communities of the Orthodox Eastern Church.

[1] Archbishop Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 209.

3. The communities of the Anglican Church.
4. The Old Catholic communities on the Continent, who do not differ widely from Anglicans.
5. The Monophysite communities in the East.
6. The Nestorian communities in the East.

The above list omits the Russian 'Old Believers,' a large section of whom hold the same creed as that of the Orthodox, and some small and obscure sects. On the other hand, it should be mentioned that the Nestorians have now become virtually orthodox, and that both the Syrian and the Armenian so-called Monophysites are now only divided from the Eastern Church by the smallest points of difference. Moreover, the full value of episcopacy as a bond of union can only be appreciated when we realise that it was unfaithfulness to the general principles of episcopacy on the part of the bishops of Rome that caused a division of the Roman Churches from the Eastern, then of the Anglican from the Roman, and, finally, the separation of the Old Catholics from the Roman. It is quite possible that if episcopacy had not been overshadowed by the Papacy, all Europe would now belong to one visibly united Christian Church. In order to build up the Papacy, the more extreme party in the Roman Church has deliberately depressed the episcopate, and this has been done according to the confession of learned Roman Catholics themselves. Cardinal Manning asserted 'that there is but one plank between the Jesuits and the Presbyterians, and that plank is the Pope.' And it is a Roman Catholic historian of the Jesuits who shows how that too acute society wrecked English Romanism in the seventeenth century by hindering the appointment and curtailing the rights of an episcopate of their own Church.[1]

[1] Ethelred Taunton, *The History of the Jesuits in England* (pp. 419, 422).

No doubt there have been bishops like Talleyrand in France, and Hoadly in England, men whose chief distinction was their readiness to throw the children's bread to the dogs. No doubt there have been bishops who have found the duty of being a pillar of the Church so arduous that they have preferred to act as weather-cocks. But the general result of episcopacy has been union and strength. The Christian denominations which have kept it can be numbered on a man's fingers, while those who have thrown it aside have divided and subdivided until they almost defy enumeration. Deplorable and mischievous as those divisions are in Great Britain, they are still more serious in the United States, where a mistaken idea of freedom stimulated repeated faction. In A.D. 1901 the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Lutherans, three of the most important denominations in the United States, were divided respectively into three, twelve, and twenty-two sects. Success is not the best measure of truth, but it can at least be said that Divine providence has shown us that episcopacy has been a means of fulfilling the prayer of Christ that those who believe in Him might be one.

A view of the history of episcopacy can hardly be better concluded than with a quotation from a living and widely respected Presbyterian divine. While opposed to the theory that non-episcopal systems have a less valid ministry, he says: 'Without the episcopate in the days of persecution and confusion, when society was falling to pieces on every side, and the Church was the only hope of stability, it may be urged with great force that the visible unity of the Church could not have been preserved, and the disruption would have been a disaster of the first magnitude both to religion and to society. It ought also to be frankly admitted that it is a good thing for the Church to have men of recognised authority and wide experience, to whom her ministers can go for spiritual and practical advice, and

who shall be in truth their father in God. It is an historical fact that the Churches under episcopal government have had a more profound conviction of the duty of unity, and have been less open to the storms of individualistic self-will, than the non-episcopal communions, and the way in which a handful of non-episcopal Christians, being thwarted in some scheme of their own fancy, will threaten to break up the Church of their faith and baptism is, to my mind, one of the strongest arguments for some form of episcopal government.'[1]

These words are both true and generous. They imply that the divine Head of the Church has hitherto employed episcopacy as a means for preserving that truth and unity for which He prayed. But we may hope that the Christians who believe as much as this will be led to believe also that episcopacy has a special divine sanction resting upon it.

[1] Dr. John Watson, *The Expositor*, sixth series, vol. ii. p. 57.

CHAPTER V

THE GENIUS OF WESTERN LITURGIES

> The joy of saints, like incense turned to fire
> In golden censers, soars acceptable;
> And high their heavenly hallelujahs swell
> Desirous still with still-fulfilled desire.
>
> CHRISTINA G. ROSSETTI.

§ 1. *Roman, Gallican, and Anglican Rites.*

WHEN Luther stopped at Milan on his memorable journey to Rome and wished to say Mass, he was told, 'We are Ambrosians; you cannot celebrate here.' It was probably as great a surprise to him as to many modern Christians of Northern Europe to learn that a great Italian diocese employed a worship distinct from the Roman, and attributed the origin of this worship to S. Ambrose, one of the greatest Fathers of the Church. Luther's own influence in revolutionising the worship of Western Europe by lopping whole provinces from the widely branching Roman rite, was still in the future. But the little incident gives us a good text for a discussion. When Luther was born, all the worship of Western Europe was comprised, as it had been in A.D. 600, under two classes, first the Roman and secondly the non-Roman Western rite, which includes the Ambrosian.[1] Soon after Luther was dead the great

[1] The non-Roman Western rite is usually called the Gallican, but the latter name can only be strictly applied to the rite used in Gaul itself.

divisions had already taken place, and the worship of Western Europe was:

1. Roman, and the forms of non-Roman worship surviving in Spain and Milan.

2. Anglican, to which in more recent times has been added the liturgy of the Scottish Church, popularly known as 'Episcopal,' and that of the American Church.

3. Lutheran, Zwinglian, and Calvinist.

Each of these three divisions is seen to contain at the present day three sub-divisions. And it may be noted that the relation of the Scottish liturgy to the Anglican is not unlike that of the non-Roman Western to the Roman, while the difference between the Calvinist and the Lutheran is in many respects more marked than that between the Lutheran and the Roman. The advantage of studying the Lutheran and Calvinist types of worship is obvious. It enables us to discover the grounds on which Protestants opposed the worship of Catholic Christendom, to understand the type of worship which Protestantism has created, and the results which it has produced on belief and character. In the course of this discussion we will confine ourselves almost entirely to the liturgy of the Eucharist, as the most important and the most suggestive for our purpose.

It is plain that all Catholic liturgies, Eastern and Western, possess one penetrating Christian character: they could only have arisen on Christian soil. They could only have arisen where the Divinity of our Lord, the real participation in His Body and His Blood, the offering of a sacrifice through Him to the Father, and the brotherhood of all baptized believers, were firmly believed. Not only so, but the structure of all liturgies remained fundamentally the same until the Reformation. It was not always understood to be the same, small variations had been needlessly introduced, and mis-

apprehensions had been formed and even stereotyped by new ceremonial additions. But, in spite of all this, a Sarum Mass-book printed at Paris and a Greek liturgy of S. Basil printed at Venice were fundamentally the same in spirit.

And our aim will be to see this spirit, especially as manifested in Western Christendom, and to derive from it some suggestions as to the manner of worship which seems best adapted to our needs. No sincere Christian will be content to discover what may for the time being prove popular or attractive, or to discover what involves the minimum of exertion for priest and people. At the present moment there is in English worship a large amount of meretricious show and an equally large amount of slovenly irreverence. Sometimes the two elements are combined. And the result of either one or both of these elements is that religion is cheapened. Worship ceases to be the communion of the soul with the Creator. The knowledge that God is present vanishes amid tawdry tunes, comfortable postures, and crisp 'sermonettes.' These defects, or defects as serious as these, are not confined to our own age. A study of the history of Christian worship confirms our belief in original sin. We are reminded of the words of Article ix. of the Church of England, that there is an infection of nature that doth remain, 'yea, in them that are regenerated.' This infection of nature, we must admit, seems to have manifested this particular form of activity more widely in the West than in the East. And it is a wholesome though not very pleasant mental exercise to reflect upon the fact that Western Europe has now acquiesced in much lower ideals of public worship than those which prevailed when our ancestors lived without chimneys.

We may first observe that until the fourth century it was almost impossible for Western Christendom as a whole to manifest one genius of its own in liturgical

matters. For it is quite certain that during part of the third century the Greek language continued to be used by Christians at Rome, and as late as A.D. 365 it seems that the liturgy there was still sometimes said in Greek. Victorinus Afer, writing about that date, certainly seems to imply this.[1] The non-Roman service of the West is involved in many obscurities before the sixth century, and its original relation to the Roman rite is a problem of extreme difficulty, partly because it became mixed with Roman elements, while the Roman rite borrowed freely from it in turn. We must content ourselves with pointing out a few salient facts in these two rites and a few probable deductions from those facts:

(a) The proper Gallican rite of France was suppressed in the eighth century. But if we take that kindred non-Roman rite still used at Toledo in Spain, and known as the Mozarabic rite, we shall find a startling difference in feeling between it and the Roman. This is vividly illustrated in the prefaces sung at the Mass before the words 'Holy, holy, holy.' Our own English preface for Ascension Day is of Roman origin and of Roman character. It runs thus:

> Through thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord: who after his most glorious Resurrection manifestly appeared to all his Apostles, and in their sight ascended up into heaven to prepare a place for us; that where he is, thither we might also ascend, and reign with him in glory. Therefore with Angels, etc.

The English of this preface is so musical that the reader would hardly guess that it is a translation. But it is a translation, rather in spirit than in letter, for no one ever knew better than Cranmer that Latin cannot be translated word for word into a Teutonic language. The older Latin was too terse and simple,

[1] *Adv. Arium*, i. 30, ii. 7 (Migne, *P.L.* viii. 1063, 1094).

and the Latin of this particular preface is even simpler than the English. If we translate it word for word, it runs thus:

> Through Christ our Lord, who after his resurrection manifestly appeared to all his disciples, and in their sight was lifted up into heaven, that he might grant to us to be partakers of his Divinity. And therefore, etc.

It will be noticed that simple as the English is, the Latin is much simpler, and that the English expands the concluding part of the Latin into quite a different idea. The English refers to the future glory of the Christian in heaven, the Latin to the bestowal of Christ's power upon the Christian in this world. The English may therefore be said to possess more imagination, though not more faith, than the Roman.

If we turn to the Mozarabic we find that the element of Christian imagination is enormously developed. The Mozarabic preface or *Illatio* for Ascension Day is too long to be quoted here. But we may notice that it contains a long account of S. Peter, at our Lord's command, walking upon the water, and then compares this victory over nature with the still greater marvel of the God-Man passing on an aerial journey in His flight. It continues:

> He received the glory of this exaltation, who carried the insult of the cross. He entered into a kingdom, who hung upon a tree. He climbed to the right hand of the Father, who was made the Cause of our peace. He himself opened for the ascent of man with himself those heavens which He bowed down that He might descend for man. Whom thrones and powers and principalities praise, bless, adore. To whom, as is right, all the Angels and Archangels cease not to cry daily, saying with one voice, Holy, Holy, Holy, etc.

It is the same with other Mozarabic prefaces. They are rambling and effusive, not only giving thanks to the Creator but also giving information to the worshipper. Thus, in the preface for the festival of S. Babylas, the

martyred Bishop of Antioch, we learn that three children declared that he was their 'father' and were martyred with him, and in the preface for S. Caecilia we read how the attempt was made to stifle her in the heated bathroom of her house. When we compare the Mozarabic and the Roman prefaces together we can hardly dispute that it has been the fittest type of preface that has survived. Modern priests and modern congregations would alike be wearied by words which seem so long in getting to a point. We prefer something which is practical, and calls our attention directly to the divine truth which we commemorate. And the taste for frequent and lengthy variations in the service, though it made itself felt both in primitive and in mediæval times, does not represent the best liturgical mind.

(*b*) The non-Roman Western rite superficially appears more Oriental than the Roman, but it is very doubtful whether this is really the case. The further back we trace the Roman Mass the more indications we find that the Canon,[1] which is now regarded as the most inviolable and unalterable part of it, was once nearer to the non-Roman in the *order* of its prayers. Again, although the style of some of the non-Roman Western prayers resembles the diffuseness of Oriental prayers, there are some remarkable points which distinguish all the Western from the Eastern rites. The broad and vital distinction between the East and the West is this. The Greek prayers are immovable. Take away the lessons and a few pieces of chanting, and the rest of the service is the same. There are different formularies in different patriarchates, such as Constantinople

[1] In the present English service everything, from the 'Lift up your hearts' to the end of the Prayer of Oblation, roughly corresponds with what the Greeks call the *Anaphora* or oblation, and with the Roman Canon, though the Canon is not usually reckoned as beginning until after 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' etc.

and Alexandria, but there is no adaptation of these prayers to different festivals. The Eastern liturgy is therefore an indivisible whole, a solid structure of prayer. The Western liturgy is a collection of compartments, like an expanding case of paper for different documents. And in this important peculiarity all the three non-Roman Western rites side with Rome against the East. They are more Western than the Roman rite, for they admit actual variations in the *wording* of the prayers contained in the Canon. While the Greek rite allows no permutations, the Roman Gelasian Sacramentary allowed 7, the Gallican *Missale Gothicum* allows 14, the Ambrosian rite 8, and the Mozarabic 11.

Another point of agreement between the non-Roman and the Roman rite is to be found in the very heart of the Canon. In the Anglican service we have the words, 'Who, in the same *night* that he was betrayed, took Bread.' This agrees with the Eastern form. The liturgies of S. James, S. Mark, S. Basil, and S. Chrysostom, all have similar words. But the Roman rite has, 'Who, the *day* before he suffered, took bread.' The Gallican rite here agreed with the Roman, the Mozarabic originally agreed with it, and the Ambrosian still agrees with it. Is is undeniable that this point of contact is too important to be neglected.

(*c*) We can now follow these indications by studying the construction of the Canon or Anaphora of the Mass. The early Christians constructed the Anaphora on a perfectly clear and intelligible principle. It contained:

1. Lift up your hearts, etc.
2. The praise of God's Being and His work in creation.
3. The hymn of praise, the *Sanctus*, uttered in unison with the angels who praised Him before the incarnation.
4. The commemoration of our Lord's work in

redemption, with an account of the institution of the Eucharist.

5. The oblation of the elements and an invocation of God's intervention to consecrate them.

6. The Lord's Prayer.

Sometimes the bread was broken before the Lord's Prayer, sometimes just after it. The communion was given soon after the breaking of the bread. To understand the scheme of the Anaphora we should also notice that immediately after the account of the institution of this Sacrament by our Lord, most of the liturgies contained a direct commemoration of His passion, resurrection, and ascension. Then when the commemoration reaches Pentecost, there comes an invocation of God's power. Usually it was asked that the Holy Spirit might make the bread and the wine become the body and the blood of Christ. And this seems to be the fittest form of consecration. But in Egypt it was asked that the divine Word of God might effect the consecration, and at Rome that the 'Angel' of God might carry the bread and wine to God's altar on high. The Angel probably refers to the divine Word or Son of God, for the early Christians sometimes applied this name to the Second Person of the Trinity. We are reminded of the acceptance of the offering of Manoah mentioned in *Judges* xiii. 19, 20, when the angel 'ascended in the flame of the altar.' The probability that the Roman Canon contains a reminiscence of this passage is increased by the fact that the early Christians often believed that the angelic appearances in the Old Testament were appearances of the Son of God. The carrying of the gifts to heaven is, of course, not to be interpreted as a local transference. It expresses the fact that in the Eucharist the worship of earth is blent with that of heaven, and that we and our offerings are taken into what S. Paul calls 'heavenly

places' when we enter into God's presence in union with His Son.

As soon as we look at the Roman Canon we see that the primitive unity has been broken in two respects. In the first place it has been broken in form. The different prayers do not hang properly together. If we take them separately they are full of beauty. For instance, let us take the prayer for the living and that for the dead:

> Remember, O Lord, thy servants and handmaidens, *N.* and *N.*, and all those who stand around, whose faith and devotion are known to Thee, for whom we offer to Thee, or who offer to Thee this sacrifice of praise, for themselves, and all that belong to them, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and safety; and who pay their vows to Thee, the everlasting, living, and true God.

And again:

> Remember also, O Lord, the souls of thy servants and handmaidens, *N.* and *N.*, who have gone before us with the sign of faith, and rest in the sleep of peace: We beseech Thee to grant unto them, O Lord, and to all who rest in Christ, a place of refreshment, light, and peace. Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.
>
> To us sinners also thy servants, hoping in the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to grant some part and fellowship with thy holy Apostles and Martyrs . . . into whose company do Thou, we beseech Thee, admit us, not weighing our merit, but bestowing thy pardon, through Christ our Lord.

What could be better? Here is dignity without ornament, sentiment without gush, and unction without fatness. Only we cannot help wondering why these intercessions for the living and the dead are put one before and one after the consecration, and why the first should be put between the *Sanctus* and the words of institution.

The Eastern Church manifested the same tendency to connect the intercessions for the living and the dead with the Anaphora. It came from a natural and

touching desire to plead for 'our dearest and our best,' both living and departed, as near as possible to the consecration. Otherwise the East has most faithfully kept the original outline of the Anaphora from the *Sanctus* to the invocation of the Holy Spirit. For it seems certain that these intercessions were not originally in the Anaphora. They occupied the same place as our prayer for the Church Militant, and Cranmer, perhaps unconsciously, restored the intercession for the Church to its primitive position. It is just possible that he was influenced by a knowledge that in the Mozarabic Missal the 'diptychs,' or lists of those to be prayed for, were, and are, still recited in this place. Such was probably once the case at Rome. Though we cannot trace the history of the change, we can say that the change is not merely a matter of conjecture. Several ancient Roman Sacramentaries, *i.e.* books containing the prayers said by the celebrant in the administration of the sacraments, have no commemoration of the dead after the consecration. One has it immediately after the commemoration of the living. And S. Jerome in A.D. 411 denounces the practice of having the names of living donors read out at the Eucharist by a deacon, with the amount which they offered.[1] And again in A.D. 415 he contrasts this ostentation with the humility of the widow who quietly offered all that she had.[2] It is more probable that these names were read earlier in the service than that they were read immediately before the words of institution. Without noticing other signs of displacement which occur in ancient missals, we must content ourselves with saying that it is probable that the Roman intercessions became placed in the Anaphora through contemporary Greek influence in the fifth century. In A.D. 416 Decentius, bishop of Eugubium (now Gubbio), a city at no great

[1] *Comment. in Ezek.*, lib. vi. cap. xviii.
[2] *Comment. in Jerem.*, lib. ii. cap. xi.

distance from Rome, wrote to Pope Innocent I. for information as to Roman customs. Innocent's reply still remains. It proves that at Gubbio the intercessions were not in the Anaphora, and although it is thought by some critics that it proves that at Rome they were already in the Anaphora, even this is doubtful. And Anglicans will be interested to know that a very eminent French liturgical scholar has come to the conclusion that in A.D. 400 all that part of the Roman Canon which corresponds with our Prayer for the Church Militant stood where it stands in our English rite.[1]

(*d*) Again, the primitive unity of the Anaphora has been broken in the Roman Canon at the most central point in the meaning, and with the most far-reaching results. For several centuries it has been usually believed that the consecration of the bread and wine to be the body and blood of Christ is *completed* at the words, 'This is my Body,' 'This is my Blood.' At these words the bell is rung, and incense is offered to our Lord sacramentally present. There seems to be no reason why these words, which were used by our Lord at the Last Supper, should not be used to effect the consecration. Only in the Roman rite this idea makes the prayers after the words, 'This is my Blood,' etc., less intelligible. And when we come to set the Roman Canon side by side with the Anaphoras of the Eastern liturgies, the fact that the Roman Canon exactly corresponds with them is seen immediately when we admit that the mistake has been made in the West and not in the East. It is far more likely that one liturgy should be misinterpreted by the people who use it than that all the different classes of Eastern liturgies among different religious bodies should coincide in the same error. And as the Roman

[1] See *L'Antiphonaire Ambrosien* in *Paléographie Musicale*, Janvier 1899, No. 41 (Solesmes, Imprimerie Saint-Pierre, 1899).

Canon at once becomes clear on this hypothesis, and as it is universally acknowledged that it was at a comparatively late date that the Roman ceremonies which imply consecration took their present form, the conclusion is irresistible. We do not mean to assert that the words, 'This is my Body,' etc., were not regarded as necessary for the consecration. We mean that the consecration was not really regarded as complete until the end of the prayer:

> We humbly beseech Thee, O Almighty God, command these things to be carried by the hands of thy holy Angel to thine altar on high in the sight of thy divine Majesty, that so many of us as shall by this participation of the altar receive the most holy Body and Blood of thy Son, may be fulfilled with all heavenly benediction and grace, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

The fact that the consecration was not regarded as complete until this prayer was said, immediately explains the fact that the oblations are just before this prayer compared with the purely material sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek, a comparison which would be very puzzling if the oblations had already become the Body and Blood of Christ. We cannot do better than quote the words of one of the best modern Roman Catholic writers on liturgical subjects, M. Duchesne. Referring to the prayer which we have just quoted, he says, 'This prayer is far from having the precision of the Greek formularies in which the grace asked for is clearly specified, namely, the intervention of the Holy Ghost to effect the transformation of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. It is nevertheless true (1) that it occupies, in the material and logical sequence of the formula, exactly the same place as the Greek Epiklesis; (2) that it is also a prayer addressed to God that He may intervene in the mystery. But where the Greek liturgies express their

meaning in clear and simple words, the Roman liturgy is here veiled in symbolical forms.'[1]

When the meaning of this prayer was forgotten, it became a permanent puzzle. As early as the ninth century Florus says, 'Who can understand words so profound, so wonderful, so marvellous, and who can worthily treat of them? In explaining their meaning, reverential awe is better than discussion.'[2] Pope Innocent III. writes, 'So great is the depth of these words that the human mind is scarcely able to grasp them.'[3] After quoting the correct interpretation from S. Gregory, Innocent adds as 'more safe' the explanation that 'these things' (*haec*) means 'these prayers,' and it is so translated by Cranmer in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. But in the First Prayer Book this interpretation is perfectly justifiable, for an invocation of the Holy Spirit and the Word was placed before the words of institution, and thus the whole scheme became both logically and theologically correct, though not exactly on primitive lines.

When we come to inquire into the value which the Christians of Western Europe in early times attached to the recital of the words of institution, we find that the evidence is apparently conflicting. We have noticed that at Rome the view that these words were all-important came to prevail. In the East the tendency has been to make the prayer for divine intervention the centre of gravity, and this has certainly proved useful as emphasising the fact that the priest is merely the instrument and representative of divine power. But the non-Roman Western services show us the two ideas about consecration existing side by side. On some days one was deemed sufficient, on some days the other was used. One form was regarded

[1] Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, pp. 172, 173.
[2] Florus, *De Expositione Missae*, § 98; but see § 101.
[3] Innocent III., *Mysteriorum* l. v., c. vi.

as quite as valid as the other. In the Mozarabic Missal we find that on the three ancient festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday, the consecration takes place as in the Eastern rites. On the other hand we find that on the sixth Sunday after Easter the consecration takes place as in the modern Roman rite. And on the fifth Sunday in Lent the oblation is called 'the true body' after the recital of the words of institution, and nevertheless an invocation follows. In France the Gallican rite shows the same diversity. As a rule the consecration seems to have been effected in the present Roman manner. And S. Caesarius of Arles, whose homilies describe the Gallican rite as it existed early in the sixth century, bears witness to this method. But on certain days the consecration by invocation still survived. Thus the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* in the Mass at the 'traditio symboli,' or teaching of the Creed to catechumens, has the following form:

> Look with favourable countenance upon these oblations, good and merciful God, who art ever ready to give; that at thy very contemplation Thou mayest hallow the offerings with the majesty of thy nature, who art for ever holy, and bestowest what is holy.

So far as we can now determine, France seems to have been the first country to adopt forms of prayers which definitely attached the consecration of the Eucharist to the words of institution.[1]

The present service of the Church of England puts into a clear and simple form the later Roman view with regard to the form of consecrating. The 'prayer of consecration,' as the Prayer Book itself names it,

[1] Their great importance is testified by S. Isidore of Seville in the seventh century. He says, *De substantia sacramenti sunt verba Dei a sacerdote in sacro prolata ministerio, scilicet: Hoc est corpus meum* (*Ep.* 7, *ad Redempt.* 2). Yet he attributes the consecration to the action of the Holy Spirit (*De Eccl. Off.* 1, 15, 3; 1, 18, 4).

contains no invocation of the divine Word or the Holy Spirit, and the consecration is attached to the words, 'This is my Body,' 'This is my Blood.' Any possible doubt as to the intention of our reformers is removed by the direction that 'If the consecrated Bread or Wine be all spent before all have communicated, the Priest is to consecrate more according to the Form before prescribed, beginning at [Our Saviour Christ in the same night, etc].' The 'death and passion' of our Lord are mentioned before the words of institution, but there is no mention, either in the prayer of consecration or in the succeeding prayers, of the resurrection, or ascension, or the descent of the Holy Ghost. The ancient order of the Anaphora is thus demolished. And its demolition is one of the most eloquent testimonies to a fact often completely ignored by modern students. It is that the English reformers, and even Luther himself, were often, for good or evil, directly dominated by the later mediæval theology in which they had been trained. It is possible that Cranmer was here influenced by forms in the Mozarabic Missal. It is also possible that he was influenced by the Lutheran Brandenburg-Nürnberg form. In any case we know that both the Lutherans and Cranmer accepted the later Western theory that the words of institution definitely formed the minimum and the maximum of consecration. And the exclusive attention paid to the 'death and passion' of our Lord, and the comparative ignoring of His risen and ascended life, were a direct heritage from the same theology. It is impossible not to regret the distance which separates our Anaphora from that of earlier ages.

The Scottish and American Communion Offices have restored the ancient scheme. After the recital of the words of institution they contain a thanksgiving for our Lord's passion, death, resurrection, and ascension.

Then the Word and Holy Spirit are invoked to sanctify the gifts of bread and wine. The introduction of this form into America was due to Bishop Seabury of Connecticut, who was consecrated at Aberdeen in A.D. 1784. He had been accustomed to use the Scottish form published by Bishop Falconar and Bishop R. Forbes in A.D. 1764, which was based on one issued by Falconar in 1755. It was owing to Falconar that the invocation of the Holy Spirit in the Scottish Office was put into its ancient position. But his action was stimulated by the work of Bishop Rattray, who composed both an account of the liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem as it existed in the fourth century, and an edition of that liturgy adapted to modern use.

(*e*) The last point which we will consider in the history of the Anaphora is the place which is occupied by the idea of communion in it. The Roman and Gallican Anaphoras, like that of the Scottish Church, had no prayer corresponding to our English 'prayer of humble access' after the *Sanctus* and before the Prayer of Consecration. And in those Roman prayers which come immediately before the words of institution the idea of sacrifice is much more prominent than that of communion. But when we come to what was originally the final prayer of consecration we find that the Roman Canon puts the idea of communion into the highest relief. The end of the consecration is 'that so many of us as shall by this participation of the altar, receive the most holy Body and Blood of Thy Son, may be fulfilled with all heavenly benediction and grace.' The very words of consecration hasten forwards to communion. After that, the idea of communion with the Body and Blood of Christ seems dropped until the 'Lord's Prayer.' It is hard to suppose that the petition 'give us this day our daily bread' was not intended by the composers of the

Roman Canon to cover a reference to the divine Bread which cometh down from heaven. The use of the Lord's Prayer near the time of communion must be most primitive, as it occurs in different families of very ancient liturgies, and must be derived from still earlier forms. The Roman and the Greek services put the Lord's Prayer before the solemn breaking of bread which precedes communion. The Gallican rite places the Lord's Prayer after the breaking of bread, but before the communion. It is extremely probable that the Roman custom was originally the same as the Gallican. S. Gregory, A.D. 595, put the Lord's Prayer in the Roman rite in its present position. He was accused of imitating the Greeks, and frankly replied that 'if that or another Church has anything good . . . I am prepared to imitate it in what is good.'[1] After the Lord's Prayer the ancient Roman service contained no other prayer in direct preparation for communion, though a psalm appropriate to the sacred act was sung by the choir. The later Roman rite, like the various English mediæval rites derived from the old Roman rite, contains very beautiful prayers for the communion of the priest, but none specially bearing on the communion of the people.

The non-Roman Western rites make the idea of the communion of the people prominent. Both the Gallican and the Mozarabic service contain the Lord's Prayer, and sometimes show the idea of communion in the prayer called in Gaul *Post-mysterium*, and in Spain *Post-pridie*. In the Mozarabic Mass such stress is laid upon the communion of the people that it is difficult to imagine how it can ever be sung, unless there are

[1] *Ep. lib.* vii. *ep.* 64. T. iv. p. 261 (Romae, 1591). Gregory's words, however, are consistent with the theory that before his time the Lord's Prayer at Rome was said *after the communion*, as in the present Anglican service. And the same is suggested by the pseudo-Ambrosian treatise *De Sacramentis*.

some present to communicate with the priest. The more modern prayer of consecration has near its beginning the words, 'sanctify this oblation that *we* may receive what has been sanctified,' after which the words 'This is my Body' are recited as in the Anglican service. Before the priest communicates the choir sings, 'Taste and see (in the plural) how gracious the Lord is.' Once before and once after his own communion the priest refers to the communion of others. And finally he is obliged every Sunday and festival throughout the year to address those present as 'refreshed with the Body and likewise the Blood of Christ,' and to repeat various prayers which refer to their communion and his own.

What the Mozarabic Missal emphasises by repeated statement the Anglican service emphasises by a new method. The idea of communion is made prominent by being interwoven into the whole of the Anaphora. Just as in the Roman Mass, when its original meaning is grasped, the mind of the worshipper is not permitted to linger upon the thought of what the sacrament is until he has thought of the sacrament in connection with communion, so it is in the Anglican prayer of consecration: 'Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee, and grant that we, receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine . . . may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood.' Besides this, we have the thought of communion introduced in the prayer of humble access, and then we have the communion actually inserted into the Anaphora. For the English Anaphora cannot be rightly understood until it is seen to include the Prayer of Oblation and the alternative prayer, in both of which the idea of communion is prominent. These prayers are both derived from prayers of the Canon which in the Roman rite are said before the communion. And though they are now

said after the communion, they still belong to the Canon or Anaphora.[1]

What is the result of this momentous change, the change of bringing the consecration and communion nearer than they are in any other rite?

Like most great changes deliberately made, it has had a complex result, partly unfortunate and partly blessed. One result is that our service contains such rapid transitions that it is very difficult to instruct people in it. If we attempted to explain to a confirmation candidate that the central part of the communion service consisted in a series of thanksgivings for the blessings of creation and redemption like the Eastern Anaphoras, or that of the Scottish Church, we should convince neither him nor ourselves. If we tried to explain that one section emphasises the fact that we offer a sacrifice, and another shows that we feed upon that sacrifice, we should confuse him in a tangle of sentences. In Scotland the task is easy. We can point to the oblation of the unconsecrated elements after the record of redemption, then point to the invocation of the Holy Spirit, then to the offering of the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and then in a later and separate section to the 'prayer of humble access' and the communion. And not only do we find the arrangement of our service a difficulty. We are also conscious of the fact that beneath its apparent simplicity there is concealed art. It is almost certain that Cranmer placed the prayers in

[1] The communion of at least some of the people at every celebration is regarded as necessary by the English Prayer Book, and as most desirable by the Roman Catholic Council of Trent. In most cases there would be no difficulty in the way of some of the laity communicating fasting at the principal service, if the service were not inordinately late. In the cathedral-churches of Spain, and in many large churches of Germany and Switzerland, 9 or 9.30 A.M. remains the hour for High Mass, as in ancient times. It might be possible to revive this hour for High Mass with advantage in more English parishes.

their present sequence in order to keep his opponents from interpreting the new English service in the same way as they had interpreted the old Latin one. And therefore we must honestly recognise that the manner in which the idea of communion is inserted into our Anaphora was determined by the needs of controversy. The Eastern, Scottish, and, to a great extent, the American order is natural and spontaneous. At first sight it seems elaborate. But the underlying idea is majestically simple. It is the remembrance of our Lord in all that He did and is now doing, irrespective of human controversies. And therefore the order of these liturgies, because it is not reactionary or one-sided, is to be preferred to that of the English service.

The extended influence of Great Britain and of the United States makes it probable that the Anglican type of worship will spread as the Roman rite once spread. It may be seriously debated to what extent one portion of the Catholic Church ought to have a type of worship which is recognisable as distinct from that of other divisions of the Church. The Christian of every nation should be able to realise that his best national characteristics are hallowed by his worship, and nevertheless all national peculiarities should be so subordinate that a foreigner need not feel that he is an alien in the house of God. To reconcile these two principles seems at first sight a great difficulty. But the difficulty is solved by historical inquiry. For in Western Europe the most vigorous liturgical worship has tended to run on very similar lines. The best Latin and the best Teutonic worship have been fundamentally the same. The reformation of the liturgy of the Church of England ended in laying stress upon certain features which had been prominent in the Roman rite in its older form, and there is consequently a strong similarity in their spirit. We may notice:

1. *The love of Scripture.* The Roman Mass,

exclusive of the psalms chanted at it, includes two and sometimes three lessons from the Bible, and abounds in Scriptural phrases and ideas. In the same way the English service drives home to the hearts of those who love it sincerely, so much that represents revelation at its height, that they become well instructed in all the dealings of God with men.

2. *The open and intelligible character of the worship.* In some ways the old Roman rite was more open than our own. The Romans, unlike the Greeks, did not fill their chancel-screens, when they existed, with pictures. Nor did they erect anything like the French and English rood-screens, which showed the worshipper just enough of the most holy place to increase his sense of mystery. In Italy the old tradition in a way survives. For though the language of the service is but little understood, the altars are so placed that the service can be understood by observing the ceremonies. Originally, however, both the ceremonies and the language were congregational. If the Roman Church had not of old approved of the service being made intelligible to the people, the language of the Roman liturgy would now be Greek and not Latin.

3. *The community of worship between priest and people.* The secret saying of the prayers of consecration, an innovation which began in the sixth century, was abolished in England at the Reformation. In this connection it is worth noting that the Roman rubrics still require that a large part of the Mass, including the Epistle, Gospel, Creed, Preface, and Our Father, should be said in a loud voice, but the rule appears to be frequently disregarded. The recognition of community of worship finds its consummation in the frequent communion of both priest and laity, and in communion in both kinds by all communicants. In defiance of the ancient Roman usage, the laity at the end of the Middle Ages usually

communicated only once a year. This abuse, according to the testimony of Erasmus, was owing 'not to the priests, but to the laity, in whom, alas! love hath grown too cold.'[1] In England communion in both kinds lasted till about A.D. 1300, in France it lasted somewhat longer, and in Rome on Easter Day the Pope administered communion in both kinds in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Nevertheless in A.D. 1415 the Council of Constance pronounced that communion in one kind 'is to be considered a law.' It would be difficult to find a more complete departure from the old Roman principle of community of worship than we see in the two following demands made in A.D. 1549 by the Devonshire peasants, who objected to the English service-book.

> We will have the Mass in Latin, as it was before, and celebrated by the priest without any man or woman communicating with him.
>
> We will have the Sacrament of the altar, but (*i.e.* only) at Easter delivered to the people, and then but in one kind.[2]

4. *The English rite and almost all that is old in the Roman rite emphasise what is essentially manly and dignified in religious thought and language.* The very words of the service seem to be instruments of hidden peace and power. In the Middle Ages the public services were manipulated and frequently corrupted in diocese after diocese in order to suit the popular taste of this or that district. It has now become very much harder for such elements to gain an entrance. But the popular desire for novelty and emotion has been able to express itself in what are now ordinarily called 'devotions.' These devotions are often couched in language which is undignified and extravagant, and they frequently foster what is least scriptural and

[1] Erasmus, *Opp.* T. v. col. 503 (Lug. Bat., 1704).
[2] Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, ii. p. 517 (edit. 1848).

least Catholic in modern Roman Catholicism. In particular they have pushed the cultus of the saints to a degree which is not encouraged by the service-books, or by the regulations of the Council of Trent. They have acted as a serious hindrance to the appreciation of Roman liturgical worship, and as such they compel us to hope that the Roman Catholic clergy will see the wisdom of regulating and restraining them. In many quarters their introduction took place within living memory. One interesting proof of this may be found in a book written by an Irish Roman Catholic priest, and enjoying a wide and well-deserved popularity in the years 1900 and 1901. One of the chief characters in the story describes the departed generation of Roman Catholic priests trained at Maynooth, and praises their high moral influence. In the midst of this description comes the sentence, 'I am quite sure they have turned somersaults in their graves since the introduction of the myriad devotions that are now distracting and edifying the faithful.'[1] But if we criticise our neighbours, we must be very careful not to admit among ourselves the hymns which are as mawkish as that for S. Matthew in *Hymns, Ancient and Modern*, or any prayer which commemorates a fiction, such as the touching story of the handkerchief lent by S. 'Veronica' to wipe the holy face of our Lord—a handkerchief which has now trebled itself, and is to be seen at Rome, at Jaen, and at Alicante.

§ 2. *The Origin of Protestant Liturgies.*

The profound influence exercised by the Mass, as then understood, upon the Christian life when Luther began to preach his Reformation at Wittenberg, may

[1] Rev. P. A. Sheehan, P.P., *My New Curate*, p. 229 (Art and Book Company, 1900).

be illustrated by the fact that the castle-church in that town then possessed endowments for 9901 Masses a year. We have already noticed the grave defects of rare communions among the laity and the withdrawal of the chalice from all communicants, clerical or lay, except the celebrant himself. Certain other abuses needed correction, and the following deserve enumeration:

(*a*) Owing to the teaching of certain schoolmen, and notably Gabriel Biel (died A.D. 1495), it was held that the sacraments availed *ex opere operato*. This phrase in modern Roman theology is perfectly innocent. It now signifies that the sacraments are effectual because of Christ's promise and not because of man's faith, though faith is necessary for obtaining the grace of the sacraments. But according to the theory of some of the later mediæval writers the sacraments operated without requiring any inward good impulse in the recipient.

(*b*) A materialistic theory of the Presence of our Lord in the sacrament was at least commonly held. Such a theory was excluded by the better form of the doctrine of transubstantiation. But even the better form of the doctrine was ordinarily tied to a philosophical theory about the relation of a 'substance' to its 'accidents' which was not supported by the original tradition of the Church.

(*c*) The manner in which Christ is offered to the Father in the Mass was obscured by popular superstition, and by the very inadequate manner in which the subject had been dealt with by the theologians whose works enjoyed the greatest popularity. A view had come to prevail that the body of Christ was offered on the Cross for the abolition of that taint of sin which we derive from our first parents, and that the body of Christ is offered in the Mass to make atonement for our daily actual sins. This opinion has long since been extinct, and its very existence has been denied.

But it is at least certain that some theologians had used language which would naturally be interpreted to mean this, though some leading Catholics of the sixteenth century indignantly declared that they had never heard of such a doctrine. It is enough for us to add that (i) the offering of Christ to the Father in the Mass was explained in a manner which suggested that the act of offering made on the Cross was repeated at the altar, and even that the Mass was the immediate cause of the efficacy of the other sacraments; (ii) the Mass was held by Gabriel Biel and others to avail for the forgiveness of those who were not contrite, and thus the fruits of Christ's death were held to avail for those who had no real faith.

The practical result is summed up in the following words of Hermann von Wied, Archbishop of Köln: 'It is plain that men are everywhere in this error, that they believe, if they be present when the priest sayeth masse, and take part of the masse only with their presence, that this very work and sacrifice of the priest whereby he offereth the Son to the Father for their sins, that is to say, setteth Him before the Father with his intention, and prayer, is of such efficacy, that it turneth all evil from them, and bringeth them all felicity of body and soul, though they continue in all manner of sins, and mischiefs against God, and their conscience.'[1]

As early as 1518 Luther declared, what no Roman Catholic theologian would now dispute, that without faith the sacraments do more harm than good. And in the *Babylonish Captivity of the Church* (1520) he attacked the withdrawal of the cup, the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the view that the Mass is a 'good work' which can be applied for the forgiveness of sins. Yet he made no effort to alter the actual service of the Mass until the summer of 1521, when he

[1] *A simple and religious Consultation*, A.D. 1547.

told Melanchthon that he would not receive 'only one form' or again celebrate a 'private Mass,' that is, one without communicants. In November 1521 he wrote a violent treatise, *De abroganda missa privata*, dedicated to the Augustinian monks in the Wittenberg monastery. It was published in January 1522. Meanwhile the monks had already anticipated him by introducing alterations into the Mass on October 13, 1521. The university espoused the cause of the monks, and sent to the Elector a memorial explaining their objections to the theory that the Mass is a good work by which God is reconciled, to the practice of the priest communicating alone, and to the practice of communion in one kind. The Elector hesitated to order any change, and in the meantime the decisive step was taken by Karlstadt, the archdeacon of the castle church. On Christmas Day 1521 he said Mass without the Canon, except the words of institution, and without the elevation, and at the close of the service announced that he would hereafter lay aside the usual vestments.

On January 24, 1522, a Protestant form of the Mass, drawn up by Karlstadt, was ratified by the university and the Town Council. It followed the outline of the old service somewhat closely, though it omitted the Canon. Luther's subsequent liturgical compositions closely resembled this order. He published a Latin *Formula Missae* for the Church of Wittenberg in 1523, almost identical with that of Karlstadt. But as Wittenberg had already adopted the use of German instead of Latin, it is probable that the *Formula Missae* was never employed there. So in 1526 he published a German Mass of a somewhat less conservative kind. His two forms served as guides for Lutheran worship, though nearly every Lutheran principality or large city in Germany constructed its own order of service. Some of these orders were rather more Catholic than others. Many, for

instance, retained the Preface, though Luther's German Mass omitted it.

The following comparison will show the most important differences between the Roman Mass and that of Luther.

MASS OF THE CATECHUMENS.

§ i.

Roman.	*Luther's German Mass*, 1526.
Introit.	A spiritual Song or a German Psalm.
Kyrie (nine times).	Kyrie (thrice).
Gloria in excelsis.	Gloria not directed, but its use probably permitted.[1]
Collect.	Collect.
Epistle.	Epistle.
Gradual and Alleluia.	A German Hymn.
Gospel.	Gospel.
Sermon.	Nicene Creed.
Nicene Creed.	Sermon.
Oremus.	

MASS OF THE FAITHFUL.

§ ii. Preparatory Section.

Offertory: oblations prepared and offered with prayers: Antiphon 'Offertorium.' Secreta, a collect.	
	Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, and exhortation to Communion.

§ iii. Anaphora.

Dominus vobiscum.
Sursum Corda.
Vere dignum et justum.
Sanctus . . . Hosanna . . .
Benedictus.
Canon Missae.
Prayers for the Church and for

[1] Luther possibly took the singing of the *Gloria in excelsis* for granted. See G. Rietschel, *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, vol. i. p. 410.

the acceptance of the oblations.	
Narrative of the Institution.	Narrative of the Institution.
Commemoration of the Passion, Resurrection, Ascension.	
Prayer for the acceptance of the oblation.	
Prayer for the consecration of the gifts at the altar in heaven.	
Commemoration of the dead, the living, and the saints.	
Our Father.	
	Sanctus . . . Hosanna, in German.
	Communion.

§ iv. The Communion.

Fraction and Commixtion with Agnus Dei.	Communion with Agnus Dei, in German.
Kiss of Peace.	
Prayers for the Priest's Communion.	
Communion with the Anthem called 'Communio.'	
Collect called 'Post Communio.'	Collect.
Dismissal formula.	Benediction.

A glance at this analysis shows that Luther was conservative with regard to the first part of the service and radical with regard to the rest. His radicalism was not due to any general dislike of ceremonies or even of the Latin language. Most of the Lutheran service-books issued in the sixteenth century abound with ancient practices. The Kyrie was still sometimes sung in Greek, and the Gloria, Sanctus, and Agnus were sometimes in Latin. At Nürnberg the Lutheran Mass was partly in Latin until the nineteenth century. What Luther steadily set himself to root out was the idea that there is any sacrifice or offering in the Mass. The Offertory and the Canon of the Mass were therefore almost entirely eliminated, though some preparation of

the elements was necessarily retained. And in some parts of Germany prayers for rulers, the clergy, and the people, corresponding with certain prayers of the Canon, were said before the consecration. The omission of the sacrificial expressions in the Canon of the Mass was largely based on a misunderstanding of their original meaning. Luther said, 'they sound and stink of oblation.' But further study might have convinced him that the oblation which they really imply is not that semi-substitution for the sacrifice on the Cross which they were believed to imply in some current misunderstandings. For the Canon of the Mass, when rightly understood, does not even remotely suggest that the killing of our Lord is literally repeated, or that the Mass propitiates God for certain sins to which the merits of Christ's death are not immediately applicable. If Luther had confined himself to the criticism of such opinions as these, his references to the Mass would have been of a much more satisfactory character. As it is, his violent criticisms of genuine abuses are mixed with assertions of very ill-considered theories. Two of these theories which appear most strange to us appeared most convincing to Luther, and strongly influenced him in his rejection of the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice. The first theory is, that because the service implies the necessity of faith in something (the Body of Christ) which is given to us, it does not require the work of a sacrifice offered by us. The sacrament is regarded as a word of promise, assuring our hearts of God's favour. The service is thus an acted sermon, directed towards man and not towards God. And Luther actually compares the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass with the absurdity of a beggar who has received a will in his favour from a prince, offering the manuscript of the will to the prince for the sake of boasting that he has given the prince something. This theory of Luther plainly rests on an unscriptural and

false antithesis between faith and good works. It might justly be replied that the very fact that Jesus Christ is 'the gift of God' received by us in the Eucharist, enables us to perform the good work of offering to God ourselves in Christ and Christ in ourselves.

Luther's second theory rests on another false antithesis. The theory is, that the most perfect sacrifice, the burnt-offering of the Jews, was wholly given to God, man eating no portion of it, while in the case of the sin-offering only a portion could be eaten by the priests. He hence argues that the Mass is not a suitable sacrifice, because the whole of it is eaten by priest and people. He says, 'It is contradictory, to be offered to God and to be taken by us.' He here commits the error of assuming that the Jewish sacrificial system is the standard by which the Christian sacrificial system is to be judged, instead of *vice versa*. He also ignores the fact that the history of sacrifice, both in revealed and unrevealed religion, shows that a feast upon a sacrificed offering is not a mere appendage to the act of offering. It is the completion and culmination of that act. The Passover Lamb, which S. Paul expressly compares with our Lord, is a special instance of sacrificial communion. The lamb was sacrificed, but it was sacrificed to be eaten, and its blood was sprinkled on the doorposts to be a symbol of the restoration of a community of life between God and every person in the house. Again, in the Bible the term 'the Lord's table' has a distinctly sacrificial meaning, as can specially be shown from *Ezek.* xli. 22, where the Lord's 'table' is explained to be 'the altar of wood' and 'the table that is before the Lord.'[1] There is, therefore, no contradiction between a holy table and an altar, and

[1] See also *Ezek.* xliv. 16; *Mal.* i. 7-12; and *Isa.* lxv. 11 (R.V.); 1 *Cor.* x. 21, where heathen altars are correctly called 'tables.'

no antithesis between a sacrifice and a communion. A sacrifice is most sacrificial when it involves most communion.

While the Lutheran liturgies abolished the idea of sacrifice, they stereotyped in a prominent fashion the later mediæval idea that the words of institution by themselves constitute the form of consecrating the elements. These words in the Roman Canon Luther compares with the ark of God in the temple of Dagon. He felt it his duty to rescue them from their surroundings. And though a few Lutheran books contain a brief prayer before the words of institution, in most cases the Lutheran consecration consists simply of a very brief account of the institution. Luther at one time had no objection to the words being recited inaudibly, as in the Roman rite, and he steadily maintained the custom of elevating the sacrament. He first retained it 'for the sake of the weak,' then he defended it against the fanatical opposition of Karlstadt, and finally advised it a year before his death.

The long continuance of Catholic ceremonies and ornaments among the Lutherans of Germany is known to every Englishman who is familiar with John Wesley's *Journal*. On Sunday, July 30, 1738, Wesley attended the Communion Service at the Lutheran church of Meissen, near Dresden. He says: 'The Minister's habit was adorned with gold and scarlet, and a vast cross both behind and before. Most of the congregation sat (the men generally with their hats on, at the prayers as well as sermon), and all of them stayed during the holy communion, though but very few received. Alas, alas! what a *Reformed* country is this!'[1] From the chasuble of the minister to the hat-wearing of the laity, the service was evidently very similar to a mediæval Mass.

[1] *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A.*, vol. i. p. 113 (London: 1830).

Sometimes, however, the Communion Service was reduced to an Ante-Communion Service, and the chasuble was then laid aside. Thus on August 6 Wesley went to church at Bertholdsdorf. He says: 'Two large candles stood lighted upon the altar: the Last Supper was painted behind it; the pulpit was placed over it; and over that a brass image of Christ on the Cross. The Minister had on a sort of pudding-sleeve gown, which covered him all round. At nine began a long voluntary on the organ, closed with a hymn, which was sung by all the people sitting; in which posture, as is the German custom, they sung all that followed. Then the Minister walked up to the altar, bowed, sung these Latin words, "*Gloria in excelsis Deo*," bowed again, and went away. This was followed by another hymn, sung, as before, to the organ, by all the people. Then the Minister went to the altar again, bowed, sung a prayer, read the Epistle, and went away. After a third hymn was sung, he went a third time to the altar, sung a versicle, (to which all the people sung a response), read the third chapter to the Romans, and went away. The people having then sung the Creed to rhyme, he came and read the Gospel, all standing. Another hymn followed, which being ended, the Minister in the pulpit used a long extemporary prayer, and afterwards preached an hour and a quarter on a verse of the Gospel. Then he read a long intercession and general thanksgiving, which before twelve concluded the service.'[1]

Possibly the inordinate length of the service confused Wesley's mind, or perhaps there really did exist a local perversion of the usual Lutheran custom, and he was right in saying that there was a second Epistle with its hymn and that the Gospel was read after the Creed. Except for these peculiarities, the service is almost identical with the first part of the Mass as now sung

[1] *op. cit.* p. 115.

in many of the Roman Catholic churches of Germany. We may safely say that many English and German Protestants of this generation would not have known the old-fashioned Lutheran service from that of the Church of Rome. Not only were lights, crucifixes, chasubles, and wafer-bread employed, but at Leipzig and some other places a small bell was rung at the consecration of the sacrament, and the sign of the Cross was made over the elements. These latter ceremonies, though tending to decline, survived in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. The first real blow to Lutheran worship was struck by Pietism. Private devotional meetings, with stirring sermons and extempore prayer, infused a distaste for liturgical worship. Pietism, like English Evangelicalism, was eager to bring individual men to God, but it was unable to see what the Christian Church implies for the development of the Christian soul. For this deficiency Luther was himself responsible. The second extract given above from Wesley's *Journal* shows that Pietism was already affecting public worship, and what Pietism began, Rationalism completed. The service was reduced to a framework for a cultured discourse. In some places the Introit, Kyrie, Gloria, and Preface were entirely omitted, and the prayers and hymns were modified in the interests of Rationalism. A far better standard was set in 1822, when King Frederick William III. issued a new *Agende* for Prussia, by which the Lutheran service was brought nearer to its original form. This restoration did not involve the revival of the chasuble, which in Germany has become everywhere obsolete. It is still used by the Lutherans in Denmark and Norway.

We can conclude our account of Lutheran worship by saying that whenever Lutheranism has been at its best, it has scrupulously avoided that type of worship which has been maintained in England

by those who, like the Lutherans, call themselves 'Evangelical.'

The Swiss Reformers, as might be expected from their theology, departed far more widely than the Lutherans from the normal type of Catholic worship. But, contrary to what we should have expected, we find that Zwingli was in some points more conservative than Calvin. His service was published in 1525, and, with some alterations, was retained at Zürich until 1675. He had previously published in 1523 his *Epichiresis de Canone Missae*, in which the Canon of the Mass was severely criticised. But his own service showed a willingness to retain reminiscences of other parts of the Mass. It consists of: 1. A prayer—2. Reading of 1 *Cor.* xi. 20-29—3. Gloria in excelsis—4. Salutation, Response, Reading of *S. John* vi. 47-63—5. The Apostles' Creed—6. Exhortation, Lord's Prayer, prayer for a worthy reception—7. Reading of the account of the institution by our Lord—8. Communion—9. Reading of *Psalm* cxiii.—10. Thanksgiving.

Very significant of Zwingli's doctrine is the fact that the communicants sat while they received. Unleavened bread and then wine were handed to them by appointed attendants, so that each person broke off a piece of bread for himself and took the cup into his hand. But by far the most important feature of Zwingli's work has yet to be mentioned. It is this: Zwingli was the first man who destroyed the apostolical and universal connection between the Lord's day and the Eucharist. He has thus had an immense influence in moulding the whole of the Protestant conception of worship. The Zwinglian Sunday service consisted of preaching, with a few prayers. The Zwinglian Communion Service was held once a year only, viz. on Maundy Thursday for men and women, on Good Friday for those of middle age, on Easter Day for the aged.

The holy communion was not regarded as the normal food of the human soul, but as part of an anniversary festival in commemoration of a past historical event. The difference between the two conceptions is vital. And whenever a Zwinglian estimate of this sacrament prevails, and it is denied to be the actual channel of divine assistance, the Zwinglian estimate of worship is likely to reappear. The rite will be considered more impressive if it is infrequently performed.[1]

Against this view of Zwingli's teaching it may be urged that there are passages in his writings which seem to imply a higher view of the sacrament, and teach that the faithful communicant does feed on Christ. The force of these passages must not be despised. But the key to them is probably to be found in the passages which describe the sacrament as only a symbol, and in Zwingli's own liturgical directions. His inconsistent language finds a parallel in modern England. For there seems to be a number of Christians in England who quite sincerely deny that they regard the sacrament as a mere memorial, and assert that they truly feed on Christ by faith. On further examination it is found that they believe that they feed on Christ, not as He is, but as He was in death. But our Lord is not dead, and cannot die again. Therefore they can only mean, if they are logical, that they feed on their own recollection of the circumstances of His death and on the benefits of that death.

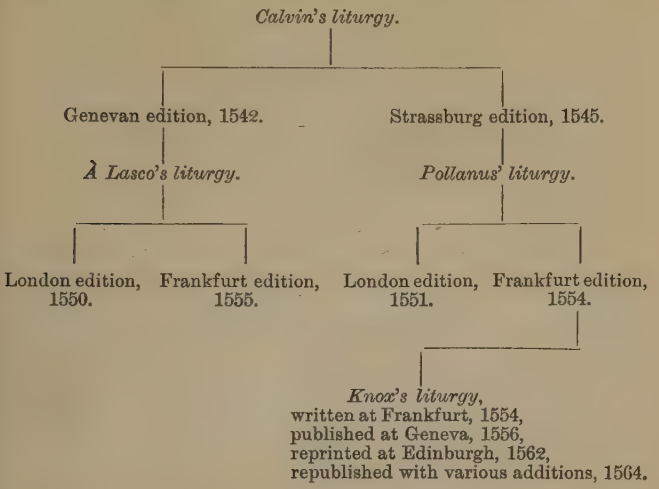
Calvin established 'reformed' services at Geneva in 1542. The Genevan book was not strictly new, but was based on the services used by the French

[1] Thus a well-known American minister has lately recommended a 'less frequent observance' as 'more salutary.'—Dr. Washington Gladden, *How Much is left of the Old Doctrines?* p. 275 (London: James Clarke and Co.).

Protestants in Strassburg from 1538 to 1541. Some of it can be traced to the liturgy published at Neuchâtel in 1533, which is the earliest known French Protestant liturgy. Calvin's ordinary Sunday service was rather fuller than that of Zwingli, and included an extempore prayer of the minister before the sermon, an institution which became and remains widely popular. His Communion Service was to be held not less than four times a year. The service was somewhat less conservative than that of Zwingli. It contained the same 'Epistle,' but had no 'Gospel.' It had the Apostles' Creed, but no Gloria. The service is of the most meagre and impoverished description, in melancholy contrast with the beauty and fulness of ancient worship. It was everywhere accompanied by the ruthless destruction of almost everything that could make an appeal to the eyes and ears of the worshipper. So rigorous was the effort to leave the soul alone with its God that it was often left alone with itself. The Calvinistic type of worship was eagerly introduced into Great Britain by the Presbyterians, both of England and of Scotland. In Scotland the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1564 ordered the universal use of a book originally known as the 'Book of Common Order,'[1] which was repeatedly reprinted until 1644. Its title betokens its origin. It is: 'The Form of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, etc., used in the English Church at Geneva, approved and received by the Church of Scotland, whereunto besides that was in the former books are also added sundry other Prayers, with the whole Psalms of David in English metre.' The foreign origin of the book is thus clearly stated, and a descent derived through 'former books' is clearly implied. The following table

[1] 'The Book of Common Order' has lately been conveniently reprinted by the Rev. G. W. Sprott, D.D. (William Blackwood and Sons: Edinburgh and London, 1901).

will elucidate the history of the book and certain kindred documents:



The Scottish book remains essentially in accordance with Calvin's Genevan liturgy, and the Communion Service which it contains deserves very careful attention. For this Scottish Presbyterian form for the 'Administration of the Lord's Supper' marks the widest departure from Christian antiquity which could be made by any religious body recognising the Divinity of our Lord. The service contains:

1. A short exhortation, with S. Paul's account of the institution of the sacrament.

2. A longer exhortation, containing traces of the influence of the exhortation in the English Prayer Book.

3. A long prayer giving thanks, and followed by the distribution of the bread and wine.

4. A short thanksgiving.

5. Psalm ciii., 'or some other of thanksgiving.'
6. A blessing.

The whole is followed by a short instruction addressed 'to the reader.' The long exhortation contains some reminiscences of the *Sursum Corda*, and the long prayer giving thanks contains some reminiscences of the ancient Prefaces and Canon of the Mass. The great importance of this prayer, and of the rubrics before and after it, makes it necessary to print them here:

'*The exhortation ended, the Minister cometh down from the Pulpit, and sitteth at the Table, every man and woman in like wise taking their place as occasion best serveth: Then he taketh bread, and giveth thanks, either in these words following, or like in effect:—*

'O Father of mercy, and God of all consolation, seeing all creatures do acknowledge and confess Thee as Governor and Lord, it becometh us, the workmanship of Thine own hands, at all times to reverence and magnify Thy godly Majesty, first, for that Thou hast created us to Thine own image and similitude, but chiefly because Thou hast delivered us from that everlasting death and damnation into the which Satan drew mankind, by the mean of sin, from the bondage whereof neither man nor angel was able to make us free, but Thou, O Lord, rich in mercy, and infinite in goodness, hast provided our redemption to stand in Thine only and well-beloved Son, whom of very love Thou didst give to be made Man like unto us, in all things, sin except, that in His body He might receive the punishment of our transgression, by His death to make satisfaction to Thy justice, and by His resurrection to destroy him that was author of death, and so to bring again life to the world, from which all the whole offspring of Adam most justly was exiled.

'O Lord, we acknowledge that no creature is able to comprehend the length and breadth, the deepness and height of that Thy most excellent love, which moved Thee to show mercy where none was deserved, to promise and give life where death had gotten the victory, to receive us into Thy grace when we could do nothing but rebel against Thy justice. O Lord, the blind dulness of our corrupt nature will not suffer us sufficiently to weigh those Thy most ample benefits; yet, nevertheless, at the commandment of Jesus Christ our Lord, we present ourselves to this His Table, which He hath left to be used in remembrance of His death, until His coming again, to declare and witness before the world, that by Him alone we have

received liberty and life, that by Him alone Thou dost acknowledge us Thy children and heirs, that by Him alone we have entrance to the throne of Thy grace, that by Him alone we are possessed in our spiritual kingdom, to eat and drink at His Table, with whom we have our conversation presently in heaven, and by whom our bodies shall be raised up again from the dust, and shall be placed with Him in that endless joy, which Thou, O Father of mercy, hast prepared for Thine Elect before the foundation of the world was laid. And these most inestimable benefits we acknowledge and confess to have received of Thy free mercy and grace, by Thine only beloved Son Jesus Christ, for the which therefore, we Thy congregation, moved by Thy Holy Spirit, render Thee all thanks, praise, and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

'*This done, the Minister breaketh the bread, and delivereth it to the people, who distribute and divide the same amongst themselves, according to our Saviour Christ's commandment, and likewise giveth the cup: During the which time some place of the Scriptures is read, which doth lively set forth the death of Christ, to the intent that our eyes and senses may not only be occupied in these outward signs of bread and wine, which are called the visible word, but that our hearts and minds also may be fully fixed in the contemplation of the Lord's death, which is by the holy Sacrament represented. And after this action is done, he giveth thanks, saying*' [here follows the short thanksgiving].

Only by transcribing this part of the Presbyterian service in full can we do justice to the fact that the service contains no consecration of the elements at all. For though the words of institution do occur in the exhortation at the beginning of the service, a notice 'to the reader' expressly denies that the repetition of them is intended to make the sacrament, 'as the Papists falsely believe.'

Nevertheless the ministers sometimes inserted the words of institution a second time, as is shown by Calderwood[1] in A.D. 1623: 'Among us, the Minister, when the sermon is finished, recites the words of institution, gives a short exhortation and admonition, then blesses. The *blessing* or thanksgiving ended, he says, "Our Lord, on that night on which He was betrayed,

[1] *Altare Damascenum*, p. 777.

took bread, and gave thanks, as we have already done, and brake, as I now break, and gave to His disciples, saying (then he hands it to those nearest on the right and the left), This is my body,"' etc. His contemporary, Gillespie,[1] also says: 'Beside the common *blessing of the Elements* in the beginning of the action, we give thankes also in the several actions of distribution, saying after this or the like manner. The Lord Jesus the same night he was betrayed, tooke Bread, and when he had given thanks (as we also give thanks to God, who gave his Sonne to die for us) he brake it, etc. In like manner also after supper, he took the Cup, and when he had given thanks (as we also give thanks to God, who gave his Sonne to shed his blood for us) he gave it, etc.'

These two passages are of remarkable interest. For they both show that owing to some traditional belief as to the necessity of consecration the thanksgiving was regarded as a blessing of the elements, whereas this form of thanksgiving contains and constitutes no such blessing. They also show that at least some of the ministers were accustomed to recite the words of institution over the elements, another remarkable instance of the survival of Christian tradition. It is even possible that Calderwood and Gillespie regarded the recital of these words as completing the consecration. But such a view of their meaning must be adopted with great caution, for the words of institution are in both writers joined with other words which suggest that they were pronounced for the instruction of the congregation rather than the consecration of the bread and wine. And the notice 'to the reader,' in the Book of Common Order, excludes the notion of such a consecration.

In the Scottish First Book of Discipline, ch. xi. § 5, the Lord's Supper is directed to be administered four times a year. The times appointed are the first Sundays

[1] *English Popish Ceremonies*, p. 339 (edition 1660).

in March, June, September, and December.[1] These were purposely selected to dissociate holy communion from the ancient holy days, especially Easter. The Book of Common Order speaks of the Lord's Supper as ministered commonly once a month, but the lower number prevailed, and then a lower still. For in the seventeenth century twice a year, or once a year, was deemed sufficient in very many parishes, and the same custom has remained common to the present day. The service took place amid surroundings which must have seemed strange in such fair ancient churches as those of Melrose or Linlithgow. Little church furniture remained except a pulpit, a baptismal basin, a table, some desks for dignitaries, and a stool and robe of sackcloth for penitents. Organs were rarely used after 1574, and none were used after 1638. Portable stools were brought by members of the congregation, or were supplied by the beadle. The whole church or the chancel was used for the erection of tables, which were surrounded by a high railing. The communicants entered through doors in the railing, each door being guarded by a church official who received from the communicants their alms and also the tickets or tokens which certified their right to communicate. The people knelt during prayer, but sat when they communicated. In 1623 each person broke off a fragment of bread on the paten and handed what remained to those sitting nearest, and in the same way the cup was handed by one communicant to another. While they did this, the minister delivered a short address, and this was done to each tableful in turn. In the sixteenth century there were sometimes two administrations on communion Sundays, at 4 A.M. and 8 A.M., or at 5 A.M. and 9.30 A.M. In Aberdeenshire fasting communion survived among some of the Presbyterians until a period within living memory, but Aberdeenshire was such a stronghold of Episcopacy in

[1] W. Dunlop, *Confessions of Faith*, vol. ii. p. 582.

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that it is possible that the Presbyterians of that district owed the custom to Episcopal influences. Sometimes the services were of a very unedifying character, and about A.D. 1700 crowds of communicants would arrive from neighbouring parishes, bad coin was given in quantities for alms, and huge amounts of wine were drunk.[1]

The unhappy ecclesiastical disputes which took place in Scotland during the reign of Charles I. accentuated the opposition of the Presbyterians to all forms of liturgical worship. A large amount of extemporary prayer had been permitted in Presbyterian worship ever since the Reformation.[2] But after 1638 it was maintained by some that the prayers should be wholly extemporary, and even the reading of Scripture in church was omitted unless a minister explained it. The custom of praying privately on entering church before service began to be laid aside, and the custom of praying in church when there was no public service, a practice which had survived even the rigours of the Scottish Reformation, also became extinct. In England the detestation felt by both Presbyterians and Independents towards the Prayer Book had similar results. Protestant liturgical worship became extinct, and the worshipper could scarcely think a thought or breathe a prayer which had not been distilled from the minister's brain. The danger attending this method has been forcibly described by the Presbyterian divine who said, 'The congregation's sole security lies in the good sense, good taste, and devout feeling of the minister. If he be a fool, he can make the entire service as foolish as himself.'

The same antipathy to everything which savoured of

[1] Many curious and interesting facts can be found in *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, by the Rev. Thomas Burns (R. and R. Clark: Edinburgh, 1892).

[2] Prof. A. F. Mitchell, *The Scottish Reformation*, p. 134.

the Prayer Book was carried to America. The Dissenters both of England and New England consequently settled into habits of worship which, though uncodified, were scarcely less definite than the habits against which they protested. For the resolve to worship God on lines which were not the lines of Catholic Christendom quickly marked out the limits within which the Protestant minister arranged the devotions of his congregations. The folly of this merely reactionary method has become increasingly apparent. Throughout Great Britain there has been a steady tendency towards an imitation of contemporary Anglican usage, even when that usage has not adequately represented the spirit of the Prayer Book. In America the principle has been carried still further. Thus a recent writer tells us: 'In New England, for instance, it is curious to note the re-entrance, one after another, of many discarded liturgical features—the Lord's Prayer (as a stated formula), the reading of Scripture lessons (without exposition), the use of tune-books and "singing by note," the organ in place of the instrumental band, the recognition of the great feasts of the Christian year, the responsive reading of the psalms, the repetition of a creed, etc. Each of these was felt at the time to be a dangerous innovation, breaking the local continuity. All have been ultimately approved because tending toward a higher and broader continuity.'[1]

But a new danger is now threatening non-liturgical worship, a danger which the Puritans of the past certainly did not foresee—the introduction of elaborate music into services where the prayers and lessons are not definitely fixed sometimes means that the congregation has only escaped from the tyranny of the minister into the tyranny of the choir. The following extract

[1] Waldo Selden Pratt, *The Liturgical Responsibilities of Non-liturgical Churches*, American Journal of Theology, October 1901.

from a half-humorous but wholly serious article by an American dissenting minister illustrates this phase of modern worship:

'Once in the city of Boston I had taken my place to begin; there had been presented to me a printed programme as I reached the vestry, the whole of which was filled in except the place for the closing hymn: it was issued by the choir as they had arranged it. While the organ was playing, up the pulpit stairs came a stranger; taking his seat by me on the sofa, he announced that he was the leader of the music, "basso." He purposed to sing for the anthem that morning a solo from "The Creation," and he desired me to read as the lesson the first chapter of Genesis, as "the most appropriate introduction." I meekly replied that if this was customary in that congregation, I had nothing to say. So I agreed to read the chapter, but I added that I trusted it would not be considered an innovation if I should put in afterwards a few verses from the New Testament which I had selected. He bowed assent gravely as he left the desk. But when the moment arrived for the genesis of my perturbation to begin, once more I was favoured with a visit, this time from the sexton, who came only to hand me a piece of a fly-leaf from a music-book, on which was written the gracious information that the leader of the choir, "basso," had concluded not to sing the solo, and I might feel at liberty to read what I pleased.'[1]

[1] *The Century Magazine*, February 1884, p. 633.

CHAPTER VI

FESTIVALS OF THE CHURCH

Nor could he, even in his early days, accept without a scruple the frigid system that would class the holy actors in the divine drama of the Redemption as mere units in the categories of vanished generations.—DISRAELI, *Lothair*.

Introductory.

THE Christian Kalendar, like the Christian liturgy, represents the transfiguration of Jewish tradition. The Christians inherited from the Jews the custom of observing one holy day in every week, and in some districts two weekly fasts were instituted after the pattern of the stricter Jewish custom. What Sunday, the weekly holy day in commemoration of the resurrection, was to every week, that Easter was to every year. It was the Christian Passover. The anniversary of the crucifixion was naturally kept in very close connection with Easter, and the anniversary of Pentecost came next, linking Christ's earthly life with the dispensation of the Spirit. Gradually the other great turning-points in the life of the incarnate Saviour became the centres of devotion, and each year became an exhibition of the historic creed of Christendom. Thus before the eyes of the Catholic Christian there is always a divine drama in process of enacting, simple enough for every mind to follow, and sublime enough to lift every heart above a sorrowful and sordid world. The first saints' days

observed throughout the Church were joined to the observance of the birthday of our Lord. In this way the commemoration of God taking human nature upon Him gave a stimulus to thankfulness to God for the lives of men who were made 'partakers of the divine nature.' Lastly came the 'birthdays' of martyrs, the days on which they were born into a world 'beyond the doors of death.' These were at first observed locally in the districts where the martyrs had suffered. Gradually they affected a widening circle, and the introduction of special services for these days into the service-books carried these festivals far and wide. The Church in each country added to her kalendar commemorations of some noble examples with which God had enriched that country, and until the twelfth century the Church of England retained the right of adding their names to her kalendar without authority from the Pope.

§ 1. *Sunday.*

The primitive observance of Sunday is attested by 1 *Cor.* xvi. 1 ff., *Acts* xx. 7, and *Rev.* i. 10. The two former passages make it quite clear that about sixteen years after the crucifixion of our Lord Sunday was an established institution of the Church. No reasonable ground for the observance of this new holy day can be discovered except the conviction of the first believers that it had been hallowed by the bodily resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. The conviction accounts for the fact that the day, which was originally called 'the first day of the week,' came to be called 'the Lord's day' before the last of the apostles was laid in his grave at Ephesus. About six hundred years later, when Mohammed built up his own religious system on foundations stolen from Judaism and from the débris of a half-Jewish Christianity, he first directed his

adherents to worship towards Jerusalem.[1] When he determined to make his own person and doctrine the heart of the great movement which he had inaugurated, he bade them worship towards Mecca, and observe Friday as their 'day of assembly.' Here we find a perfectly intelligible natural motive for changing the day of worship. It was the wish to have something distinctive, something to separate Islâm from Judaism and Christianity. But the Christians who first began to observe Sunday believed it to be the day on which their religion was supernaturally ratified by God. Christ was raised 'on the third day' (1 *Cor.* xv. 4), and by this resurrection 'was marked out as Son of God' (*Rom.* i. 4). The observance of it was therefore not a protest against Judaism but a profession of 'the faith of Jesus.' It had not a negative meaning like the choice of the Mohammedan Friday, but a positive meaning. It is thus a real testimony to the fact that the resurrection really happened.

Sunday was regarded as quite distinct from the ancient Sabbath. That the Christians of Jerusalem continued to observe the Sabbath seems certain from *S. Matt.* xxiv. 20, where our Lord urges his disciples to pray that when they flee from Jerusalem before its destruction their flight may not be on the Sabbath. But in *Acts* xv. we find that the apostles make no attempt to compel the Gentile Christians to observe the Sabbath, even though their rules are primarily intended for communities where friction might be caused by differences of usage between Jewish and Gentile converts. And in *Col.* ii. 16, and probably in *Gal.* iv. 10, S. Paul reckons the rule of observing the Sabbath as one of the 'rudiments of the world,' that is, rules which belonged to the A B C of man's religious education, fit for the childhood of the race, but not fit for its maturity. We find that some ascetic Chris-

[1] He also kept the Day of Atonement, and possibly the Sabbath.

tians at Rome in A.D. 56 observed holy days of their own, and abstained from meat and possibly from wine (*Rom.* xiv. 6, 21). Evidence points to the probability that these were Jewish Christians. If so, the days which they kept holy must have included the ancient Sabbath. S. Paul treats these people with the utmost gentleness. But it is plain that he regards their exaggerated esteem for vegetarianism, total abstinence, and festival keeping as signs of spiritual weakness rather than spiritual vigour. In fact, the manner in which the Sabbath is ignored by the apostles in their relations with Gentile Christians is so pointed, that it suggests that the institution of Sunday and the refusal to enforce the Sabbath are founded upon some special authority. It is at least possible that this authority was nothing else than the command of the risen Saviour.

The New Testament does not even suggest to us that the Lord's day was regarded as the fulfilment of the ancient day of rest. The only Christian Sabbath mentioned in it is that rest which remains in heaven for the people of God (*Heb.* iv. 1). This doctrine of the Epistle to the Hebrews deserves all the more attention when we recollect that the author loved to trace the foreshadowings of Christianity in Jewish worship. He also reminds his friends of the duty of assembling themselves together (*Heb.* x. 25). We may naturally suppose that the day of assembly was the Lord's day, as it was at Corinth in A.D. 55. The writer of the epistle suggests the very loftiest view of 'going to church,' for he points out the august character of that festal assemblage of the firstborn of God in heaven with whom the Church on earth is united. But he says nothing to suggest that Christian worship was held on the Sabbath, or represented that held by the Jews on the Sabbath. The earliest Christian writings outside the apostolic age show the cessation of Sabbath worship. Thus the *Didaché* speaks of the

'Lord's day of the Lord.' The Greek phrase, by the repetition of the word 'Lord,' shows that the words 'Lord's day' (*κυριακὴ ἡμέρα*) as a title for Sunday had already become so familiar by use, that its sacred meaning was beginning to wear off and required renovating. About A.D. 110 S. Ignatius says that Christians 'no longer keep the Sabbath,' but 'live according to the Lord's day (*κυριακή*).'[1]

This Greek word *κυριακή* became the universal word for Sunday among Greek-speaking Christians. It survives close at hand for us in England, for in the ancient but fast-decaying language of the English gipsies 'kurki' is still the name for Sunday. The Greek title was translated into Latin, appearing as *Dies Dominica*, and in the modern languages which were born from the dying Latin tongue the title lives in corrupted forms. But in one country at least the hallowed *Dies Dominica* has had a strange experience. It passed, with some other Latin names for the days of the week, into the Gaelic language, where it has become 'Di domhnaich.' And in Scotland there are pious Highlanders who not only hesitate to call Sunday by any other name than 'Sabaid' (Sabbath), but regard the name 'Di domhnaich' with conscientious horror. It is because they believe it to be the name of a heathen god, thinking the *Di* to be the Gaelic word *Dia*, god, instead of the innocent Latin *Dies*, a day. The word *Sunday* appears to be of purely heathen origin. In early Christian times one of the most popular deities among the Romans was Mithras, the Persian god of the sun. He was worshipped with mysterious and interesting ceremonies, and his popularity actually proved a stepping-stone towards the adoption of monotheism and Christianity. The universal radiance and beneficence of the sun became regarded as a symbol of one almighty force sustaining

[1] *Ad Magn.* 9.

all creation, and the Emperor Constantine marked his coins with the emblem of Mithras not long before he marked them with the emblem of Christ.

The first Father of the Church who points to the outward similarity between the Christian sacraments and the Mithraic forms of initiation is Justin Martyr. And he is the first Father who calls 'the Lord's day' 'the day of the Sun.' He does it in writing to heathens a Greek defence of Christianity, which was composed in A.D. 152. He no doubt uses the name as the title commonly used at that time by the pagans of the Roman empire. So at the close of the second century Tertullian describes 'the Lord's day' as 'the day of the Sun.' In a later treatise of Justin Martyr, in which he describes a discussion between himself and a Jew, the Jew accuses the Christians of having no Sabbaths and no circumcision. Justin in his reply assumes that the Christians have no literal Sabbath, and declares that they have a fixed Sabbath, which consists in abstinence from evil. It is true that there were some Christians in Justin's time who did observe the Sabbath. There were some sects in Palestine and Syria which were of Jewish origin, and tried to combine Judaism with Christianity. The more extreme of these sects, now usually known by the name of the Essene Ebionites, had reduced Christianity to a Hebrew form of Unitarianism. They insisted upon the necessity of circumcision, and were in open conflict with the creed as taught by the Apostles. Their chief historical importance lies in the fact that Mohammed was influenced by them, as we have noticed above. Their influence on the Christian Church was apparently confined to the literary influence of certain romances in which they extolled S. Peter and S. Clement. These romances can be traced to a work called the *Journeys of Peter*, written about A.D. 200 by a Syrian follower of the heretic Helxai.

The establishment of Sunday as a weekly festival took place on March 7, A.D. 321. On that day Constantine decreed that 'the venerable day of the Sun' should be marked by a cessation of judicial and mercantile transactions. Agriculture was not forbidden, on account of its dependence upon changes in the weather. It is worth noting how cautiously Constantine proceeded. The vast majority of his subjects were still pagan, and his edict uses the pagan name, and extends to Sunday the rules which had long prevailed on heathen holidays. The rule of Sunday observance was made stricter in A.D. 469 by the Emperor Leo I., who forbade agricultural work on Sunday. The first known assertion that the Sabbath was changed into Sunday is found in Eusebius of Emesa about A.D. 350, but it was not until after the time of Leo I. that it became common for Christians to trace a more or less exact correspondence between Sunday and the Sabbath. Sometimes we find a tendency to what in modern times became known as 'Sabbatarianism,' that is, a ceremonial insistence upon abstinence from every form of work and even bodily exercise, on the lines of the old Jewish regulations. But as a rule the Sabbath was regarded as imported into Sunday only so far as the duty of public worship and abstinence from unnecessary work were concerned. Thus, in A.D. 538, the synod of Orleans condemned as Jewish the teaching that it was wrong to travel or prepare food or wash on Sunday. But it ordered the cessation of ordinary agricultural work in order to facilitate attendance at public worship. Among the most religious there was a decided tendency to abstain from amusements in order to consecrate the day more truly to God. But the teaching which was condemned at Orleans in 538, and the fact that at the end of the seventh century a Spanish rule forbade walking on Sunday, show an interesting anticipation of some

opinions which flourished among the Scottish Presbyterians. The stern Spanish Catholics of old would have sympathised with the Scottish servant-maids of the Victorian era who refused to 'wash-up dishes on the Sabbath,' or the worthy men who shaved on Saturday night instead of on Sunday morning.

The opinion of Western Europe during the Middle Ages was summed up by S. Thomas Aquinas: 'We must say that the observance of the Lord's day in the new law succeeded to the observance of the Sabbath, not from the force of the precept of the decalogue, but from the regulation of the Church and the custom of Christian people.'[1] He also speaks of the Sabbath as 'changed into the Lord's day.' The special hallowing of the Sunday consisted, as in primitive times, in attendance at the Holy Eucharist. This was the minimum required by Christian sentiment. Attendance at Mattins was also very common, and other services were not neglected. The spirit of the liturgical services of the Church other than the Eucharist was really appreciated, as can be shown by the popularity of the Primer. This prayer-book for the laity was constructed on the lines of the Church services, and familiarised them with many of the psalms. Since the Reformation, books of the type of the Primer have declined in Roman Catholic countries. They have often been replaced by inferior books of modern prayers, and the neglect of Mattins and Vespers has attended this change.[2] The leaders of the Protestant Reformation on the Continent were by no means strict in their views of Sunday. Their laxity was logical.

[1] *Summa Theologiae*, II. p. ii., qu. 122, a. 4; cf. II. p. i., qu. 103, a. 3.

[2] Mattins were sung in the parish churches of Paris on Sunday until the first French revolution.

Vespers on Sunday are proportionately less attended by the English Roman Catholics than they were two generations ago. Percy Fitzgerald, *Fifty Years of Catholic Life and Progress*, vol. i. p. 52.

They depreciated the authority of the Church, and they were able to perceive that the institution of Sunday rested in a peculiar manner upon the authority of the Church, as Scripture records no divine command to keep Sunday holy. The general teaching of Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli was that Sunday was a convenient day for meeting together to worship.[1] Some of their printed statements would come as no little surprise to some of their modern admirers. Thus Luther writes, 'if we were all perfect and knew the Gospel, we might work every day, as we liked, or keep holiday as we could.' Zwingli reckoned working on Sunday as a matter of indifference. Calvin denounces 'the trifling of the false prophets who have imbued the world with a Jewish notion.' It seems that these 'sophists' were the Catholic theologians, whom he regards as Sabbatarians. He believed that a moral significance still attached to the fourth commandment, but he, the founder of Puritanism, allowed a theatrical performance on a Sunday. In view of later history it is instructive to notice, that while the Roman Catechism and, apparently, the Anglican Communion Service regard the Christian Sunday as invested with much of the dignity of the Jewish Sabbath, the founders of Protestantism encouraged the opposite view. Luther expressly declares that to observe the Lord's day as necessary for righteousness is the work of 'false apostles and papists.'

Before long the Protestants completely changed their position. At first they criticised the Catholic method of keeping Sunday because it was too Jewish; they afterwards criticised it because it was not Jewish enough. First in one country, and then in another, it was taught that both the positive and the negative rules of the old Sabbath had been transferred to the Christian Sunday.

[1] So Luther in his commentary on Galatians, and Calvin in *Inst. Chr. rel.* II. viii. 34.

Peter Martyr and Beza introduced the new view at Geneva in the sixteenth century, and it was accepted by the English Puritans and the Dutch Calvinists. The Presbyterian Westminster Confession of A.D. 1647 enforced it, and at the end of the seventeenth century it was defended by many German Lutherans. It would probably have become much more popular in Germany than it eventually proved to be, if the growth of scepticism in the latter part of the eighteenth century had not loosened all sense of religious obligation. It is probable that the semi-infidel teaching of nominally Christian professors and ministers, rather than the theology of the reformers, is responsible for the modern desecration of Sunday in Lutheran and Calvinistic districts on the Continent. In England the traditional Anglican Sunday is reasonable and delightful. It is neither slack nor sour. It has combined an appreciation for worship with a mellow tenderness for such recreation as is not based on another's labour. But it has suffered cruel reverses. For more than three hundred years it has failed to satisfy the Puritan, and the Puritan has had his revenge in winning Anglican converts to his own Sabbatarian views. Too often both their children and his own have rebelled. All Sunday observance has been recklessly thrown off because it had been made a burden too heavy to be borne. But we must not lay all the blame at our neighbour's door. The blame must partly be credited to the clergy of the Church of England. No one can fail to notice that in England a disregard for Sunday, especially with the poorer classes, begins with a disregard for Sunday morning. The long prevalent substitution of Mattins for the Holy Eucharist on Sunday mornings is one of the main causes of this negligence. The service in the evening was so similar to that in the morning that people were tempted to postpone their worship to the end of the day. Moreover, there was usually

no opportunity given for attendance at a short morning service, and little or no teaching given about the meaning of Eucharistic worship. The result has been the loss of multitudes of souls. Happily, the majority of English people are strangers to that exhausting Continental gaiety which has made a French poet greet the English Sunday as 'the calm death of all the week.'

The period when Sunday was least observed in England was the time which immediately followed the Reformation. On the part of many of the clergy there was slovenliness and unfaithfulness to Catholic ideals, and the people were demoralised by prosperity. In the time of Queen Elizabeth there appear to have been eight theatres open in London every Sunday, an extraordinary number considering the size of the city. Stockwood, the Tunbridge schoolmaster, preaching in 1578, complains of Sunday 'bear-baiting, bull-baiting, (as if it were a thing of necessity for the bears of Paris garden to be baited on a Sunday), . . . bawdy interludes, silver games, dicing, carding, tabling, dancing, drinking.' He says, 'Will not a filthy play with a blast of a trumpet sooner call a thousand than an hour's tolling of the bell bring to the sermon an hundred? Nay, even here in the city, without it be at this place [Paul's Cross], and some other certain ordinary audience, where shall you find a reasonable company?' Smith, another preacher, speaks of the 'churches in most places empty, whereas the theatres of the players are as full as they can throng.' The state of things was little better in the country districts, where fiddlers, pipers, Morris dancers, and the dancing of naked men in nets made Sunday hideous.[1]

[1] A further treatment of the subject of Sunday observance will be found in the volume *Sunday* in this series.

§ 2. *Festivals chiefly connected with our Lord.*

The chief of Christian festivals is that of *Easter*.[1] In the Romance and in the Celtic languages it is called by names which are corrupted forms of the word *Pascha*, which is derived from an Aramaic form of the Hebrew word for Passover. This festival appears to have been observed since the apostolic age. During the second century there was a difference of opinion between the Church of Asia Minor and the Church of Rome with regard to the fit day for keeping this feast. The Catholics of Asia always observed it on the fourteenth day of the month Nisan (hence their usage is called 'Quartodeciman'), the Catholics of Rome observed it on the Sunday following that day.[2] The rebuke administered to Victor of Rome in A.D. 190 by S. Irenaeus, for his endeavour to excommunicate the Asiatics for their practice, is a remarkable testimony to the fact that the Bishop of Rome was not then regarded as above the criticism of other bishops. The Roman usage, which was also that of Egypt and Palestine, gradually prevailed. Another important controversy with regard to Easter was settled at the Council of Nicaea in A.D. 325. The Church of Antioch was accustomed to wait until the Jews kept their Passover, and then kept the Sunday following as the Christian feast. At Alexandria and Rome the Christians calculated the date of Easter for themselves, and prided themselves on calculating it more accurately

[1] Easter, in Old High German *Ôstarâ*, in Anglo-Saxon *Eostre*, was the name of the goddess of spring. It is derived from the word *Aust*, *Ost*, East, and signified the morning light in the East. The Teutonic Christians immediately transferred the name to the festival of the rising of the Sun of righteousness.

[2] An account of the nature of this controversy is contained in the author's *History of Early Christianity*, pp. 84-95 (Service and Paton, 1898).

than the Jews, who sometimes kept the same festival twice in one year. The Nicene Council ratified the Alexandrian usage, and forbade Easter to be kept on the fourteenth day of the moon, even if that day were a Sunday. This was deliberately done, in order to separate the Christian usage from the Jewish.[1]

A notable controversy with regard to Easter divided the two parties of missionaries who evangelised England. S. Augustine upheld the Roman usage of his day; the Celtic Christians, both British and Scotic, upheld a more archaic Western usage. The isolation of the Celtic Churches was illustrated by their ignoring of the Nicene rule that Easter should never be kept on the fourteenth day, even though a Sunday. They also calculated the date of Easter by an old-fashioned Roman method based on a cycle of eighty-four years. S. Augustine and his companions not only kept the Nicene rule but also employed an improved calculation lately introduced at Rome. At the synod of Whitby in A.D. 664 the Church of England adopted the newer Roman custom. The so-called Celtic Easter, which was merely the old Roman Easter, was finally given up in Ireland in 704, in Scotland in 716, in Wales in 777.

Throughout the Christian Church the faithful are required to communicate at Easter, or, by a concession, near Easter. This fact will always give a solemnity of its own to the Easter celebration of the Eucharist. The first celebration was in ancient times held before the dawn of Easter day. This celebration, both in the Roman rite and that of Milan, is now transferred to the morning of Easter Eve. In both rites it is of a highly archaic and interesting form. All the pieces of music introduced at or after the end of the fourth century are omitted. The Gradual and Sanctus are retained, but the Introit and 'Ingressa,' the Creed, the

[1] A brief summary of the controversy, with further references, will be found in Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, p. 226.

Offertory, the Agnus and the 'Confractorium,' the Communio and the 'Transitorium' are omitted, and at Milan even the 'Gloria in excelsis' is not sung. The service was moved to the afternoon of Easter Even many centuries ago, and the Roman rubrics still require that Vespers should be sung just after the Communion. But the transference of the Mass to the Saturday morning is highly inappropriate, being quite inconsistent with some of the words employed.

In the present Anglican service the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel of Easter Even have direct reference to the Saturday, and to the rest of our Lord in the grave. The service should therefore be celebrated with penitential ornaments, and not with the festal ornaments required by the Roman service, which really belongs to the Sunday.

Pentecost, or 'the fiftieth day from Easter.'—The observance of this day, upon which the Holy Spirit came down to create the Church, probably dates from apostolic times. S. Paul mentions his wish to spend it at Jerusalem. The season of 'fifty days' is alluded to by S. Irenaeus about A.D. 185, and by Tertullian about A.D. 200. The English name Whitsunday is simply White Sunday, and refers to the white robes of the newly baptized. The comparative coldness of our climate probably caused the baptism of converts from heathenism to be generally administered at Pentecost rather than Easter. In Italy 'White Sunday' (*Dominica in albis*[1]) is the last day on which those baptized on Easter Even wore their new raiment, *i.e.* the first Sunday after Easter Sunday, called in English Low Sunday. The latter is probably so named in contrast to the 'high' feast of Easter (so in Irish Gaelic it is *mìn chaisg*, 'little Easter').

Ascension Day.—This festival was well established

[1] That is, *in albis depositis*, when the white garments were laid aside.

in the East in the fourth century. The *Apostolical Constitutions* show that it was observed in Syria about A.D. 375, and S. Chrysostom also bears witness to it. Socrates, *H.E.* vii. 26, shows that it was kept soon after A.D. 400 at Constantinople. It is possible that it was not universal in the West until after A.D. 400. It was well known to S. Augustine (*Ep.* 54 *ad Januar.*) before A.D. 430, and Maximus of Turin about A.D. 450 (Migne, *P.L.* t. lvii. serm. 44-47, col. 623 sqq.). There was originally no Mass for it in the famous Sacramentary of Bobbio in Italy. This book was written by Irish monks, probably in the seventh century, and the kalendar seems to represent one that had been taken from Italy to Ireland not long after A.D. 400.

Trinity Sunday.—The common observance of the Sunday after Pentecost in honour of the Holy Trinity dates from the eleventh century, although for some two hundred years previously it had been in some places the custom to dedicate a day to the Holy Trinity. It was observed at Liége about A.D. 910. It is mentioned in a compilation of rules made by the abbot Ælfric for the monks of Eynsham about A.D. 1005. It was opposed at Rome as a novelty, notably by Pope Alexander III., but was indirectly sanctioned by Pope John XXII. in A.D. 1334.

Corpus Christi.—Before the Reformation this feast was observed on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday in honour of the holy sacrament. It was apparently first observed at Liége about 1246. In consequence of an alleged miracle at Bolsena Pope Urban IV., in 1264, endeavoured to make its observance universal. His efforts were not very successful, and the festival had to be re-established by Clement V. in 1311, and John XXII. in 1317. The festival was particularly disliked by the Franciscans. In spite of the fact that the feast was associated with some superstitions, almost all the Mass for Corpus Christi is peculiarly beautiful and scriptural.

The Sequence 'Sing my tongue, the mystery telling,' was composed by S. Thomas Aquinas. The festival was retained in the Lutheran Kurbrandenburg and Nassau books.

The Transfiguration, August 6.—This feast is of Greek origin, and apparently dates from the ninth century. In the West August 6 was not commonly observed in honour of the Transfiguration until 1457: the day had formerly been dedicated to the memory of S. Sixtus, and the Transfiguration was commemorated on the Ember Saturday in Lent. In the American Prayer Book the feast has been fully restored, and has an appropriate Collect, Epistle, and Gospel.

The Name of Jesus, August 7.—According to the use of Sarum this festival had an octave, and was of great solemnity. In the Roman rite, where its introduction is subsequent to 1474, the festival is kept on the second Sunday after Epiphany, and has no octave. It is deeply to be regretted that the exquisite mediæval service has not been retained. But the old Introit (*Phil.* ii. 10, 11, with *Psalm* cxxxv. 3), Offertory (*S. Mark* xvi. 17, 18), and Communion (*Rev.* ii. 17) can still be sung, and above all the Sequence, 'Jesu, the very thought is sweet,' written by S. Bernard.

After these festivals of our Lord must be mentioned the festivals connected with His Cross. In our kalendar we find September 14 named 'Holy-Cross day,' and May 3 called 'Invention (*i.e.* Discovery) of the Cross.' September 14 is a feast of Palestinian origin, and was observed in the latter part of the fourth century in commemoration of the discovery of the Cross by Helena, and the dedication of the church on Golgotha, in A.D. 335. The festival came from Jerusalem to Constantinople in the fifth century, and appears to have been introduced into Rome in A.D. 690, when Pope Sergius erected a relic of the Cross in the basilica of the Saviour, known as the Constantiniana. Hence in the Gelasian

Sacramentary the feast appears as the 'exaltation' of the holy Cross. May 3 is the Gallican festival commemorating the discovery of the Cross, introduced at Rome when the Gallican and Roman rites began to be combined. It occurs in the Gelasian Sacramentary.

The result of commemorating the discovery of the Cross on September 14 was to displace the commemoration of the great martyr-bishop S. Cyprian of Carthage, and his contemporary S. Cornelius of Rome, who perished in the third century. The modern Roman kalendar has shifted the commemoration of these saints to September 16, and the modern Anglican kalendar has placed the name of S. Cyprian on the 26th. It is much to be regretted that a saint, whose powerful theological writings are more appreciated by Anglicans than by any other section of the Catholic Church, should not be remembered in England on the true day of his burial.

Christmas Day, or the Nativity of our Lord, December 25.—This great festival is the centre round which the most important saints' days of the Christian year have gathered. December 25 was reckoned in Western Europe as the birthday of our Lord before it was openly observed as a festival. The first witness to this belief is Sextus Julius Africanus in A.D. 221. Evidence to the same effect is given by S. Hippolytus, who suffered martyrdom in A.D. 235. An important document which records the observance of this day as the birthday of Christ is the Roman Philocalian kalendar. It contains a heathen kalendar drawn up in A.D. 336, and a Christian kalendar of the same date, and was copied by 'Filocalus,' a calligraphist, in A.D. 354. This kalendar does not mention the observance of January 6. On the other hand, it is certain that in the East at this period January 6 was observed in commemoration of the birth of our Lord. The oldest known testimony to this fact is found in the Passion of S. Philip of

Heraclea, A.D. 304. In the East the festival was known as 'the Epiphany' or 'the Epiphanies.' The latter title is explained by the fact that in some places January 6 was regarded as the anniversary of both the birth and the baptism of Christ. This is shown in the hymns of S. Ephraim the Syrian. But S. Epiphanius, who lived in Cyprus at the end of the fourth century, places the baptism on a different day, while he includes under the head of 'the Epiphanies' the birth, the appearance to the Magi on our Lord's third birthday, and the miracle at Cana on His thirtieth birthday. In Gaul and Spain, where liturgical customs frequently resembled those of the Greek-speaking countries, January 6 was kept holy in the fourth century, apparently as the festival of the Nativity. In Gaul holy baptism was often administered on this day, and this custom was introduced at Rome, but very soon discontinued. In the West January 6 began to be observed in honour of the appearance of our Lord to the Magi in the fifth century, as is shown by the sermons of S. Augustine and S. Leo. Both in the East and the West our Lord's miracle at Cana was commemorated on this day, and from 1549 to 1661 the second lesson at Evensong in England was from *S. John* ii. The popular names for the Epiphany in the Isle of Man were connected with this miracle.[1]

The Armenians still observe January 6 as the festival of our Lord's Nativity. The Greeks, on the contrary, observe December 25 as the Nativity, having adopted it at Constantinople in A.D. 379, at Antioch about A.D. 380, and at Alexandria in A.D. 432. S. Chrysostom plainly says that the Greeks took it from the Romans. The Greeks retain January 6 as the Epiphany.

An Armenian manuscript, preserved in the Bod-

[1] The name of the feast is, we must now rather say was, *yn il chibbyrt uysky*, 'the feast of the well of water,' or *láil ymmyrt uysky*, 'the day of the feast of the vessel of water.'

leian Library at Oxford,[1] says that the Roman Church shifted the festival from January 6 to December 25 in order to keep it on the day which the pagans consecrated to the worship of the sun. December 25 was consecrated to the worship of the Syrian sun-god, whose worship had been popularised by the Emperor Aurelian, A.D. 270, and then to Mithra, the Persian sun-god, who had been venerated at Rome since the first century. The heathen part of the Philocalian kalendar calls December 25 'Natalis Invicti,' the birthday of the 'invincible sun.' But there is no proof that the Roman Church ever celebrated the birth of Christ on January 6. We cannot therefore accept the statement that the Roman Christians altered the day. And as December 25 was believed at Rome to be the birthday of Christ before the time of Aurelian, it is hardly probable that the Christians copied the pagan festival.

The fact that in the fourth century both December 25 and January 6 were observed as the birthday of our Lord raises a very intricate problem. The explanation is probably as follows: It was believed that our Lord completed an exact number of years on earth, and that he died upon the anniversary of the Annunciation. Now there were two dates which were supposed by many to be the date of His death—March 25 and April 6. They were therefore supposed to be the date of the Annunciation, and His birthday was fixed at the same interval after either March 25 or April 6. The baptism was probably fixed by the Eastern Christians on January 6, because *S. Luke* iii. 23 was understood to mean that He was exactly thirty years old at the time of His baptism.

The most ancient Western Eucharist for Christmas Day is the last of the three now used at Christmas according to the Roman rite, corresponding with that

[1] Bodl. MS. Arm. Marsh. 467, saecl. xvii., fol. 338 A.

in the English Prayer Book. The midnight Mass on Christmas Eve was probably brought from Palestine to Rome in the fifth century. The Roman Mass at dawn was originally only sung at the church of S. Anastasia in Rome, and was in commemoration of that saint. The Mozarabic rite has only one Christmas Mass; the rite of Milan has copied the Roman custom. The midnight Mass, as we now call it, is really a Mass at cockcrow (*in galli cantu*, or *pulli cantu*). In certain parts of Wales the cockcrow Mass, called *plygain* (pulli cantu) has never been given up in the Anglican churches. In the eighteenth century the peasantry used to go to it in procession with lights.

When the date of Christmas was fixed, several commemorations of eminent saints were connected with it. In the latter part of the fourth century the church in Asia Minor kept the following festivals immediately after Christmas:

Dec. 26. S. Stephen.
Dec. 27. S. James and S. John, the sons of Zebedee.
Dec. 28. S. Peter and S. Paul.

These dates had no connection with the dates of the martyrdom of these saints, they were chosen in order to give the most prominent saints festivals near to the great festival of Christmas. The first two festivals were apparently brought from the East to Rome in the fourth century. But as the Roman Church kept the festival of S. Peter and S. Paul on June 29, December 28 was left free for another commemoration. And the Roman service-books all separate the commemoration of S. James from that of S. John. The Sacramentary of Bobbio has Masses for S. Stephen, the Holy Innocents, and S. James and S. John.

In the Roman and Anglican kalendars the festivals are distributed as follows:

Dec. 26. S. Stephen.

Dec. 27. S. John.
Dec. 28. The Holy Innocents.

S. Stephen's Day. The Western Churches have kept the original Eastern date for this festival. It has been observed in the West since at least the fifth century. The Greeks afterwards moved it to December 27 in order to commemorate S. Mary and S. Joseph on December 26.

S. John's Day. According to the very ancient usage of the Roman Church we observe December 27 in commemoration of S. John the Evangelist only. The non-Roman Western rite, like the Greek, commemorated both S. James and S. John. The Gallican practice became supplanted by the Roman, and the Greeks transferred both apostles to other days. The Mozarabic Missal celebrates S. John on December 27 and S. James on December 30. This is evidently a compromise between the Gallican and the Roman rites. S. John was bishop of the Church of Ephesus, was exiled in the time of Domitian, returned to Ephesus, and died there about A.D. 98. His monument was to be seen there in the second and third centuries of the Christian era.

Holy Innocents' Day. In the fifth century this day was already dedicated to the commemoration of the infants who were murdered by King Herod in his determination to destroy the infant Saviour. The word 'Innocents' is a title of Roman origin. The Gallican books refer to the martyred babes as 'Infantes,' and the old-fashioned English name for the festival is simply 'Childermas,' the Mass of the Children. Our forefathers celebrated this festival with great solemnity and rejoicing. It was the custom at Lincoln, Salisbury, York, and elsewhere, to appoint a 'boy' or 'bairn' 'bishop,' who wore episcopal vestments, and was allowed to take a place of honour in the cathedral.

The Circumcision, January 1. The date of this festival is determined by the fact that every Jewish male child was circumcised on the eighth day after his birth. Thus the Circumcision is placed eight days after Christmas Day. At Rome it was not observed at all for a long time. And in Gaul and Spain January 1 was originally kept as a fast day, as ordained by the Second Council of Tours, A.D. 567. While commemorating the Circumcision the Christians of these countries celebrated a Mass on this day as an intercession against idolatry. This was to counteract the excesses of the heathen at their New Year festival. The ancient lectionary of Toledo has for this day the following lessons—*Jer.* i. 1-10; 1 *Cor.* x. 14-xi. 2; *S. Matt.* x. 5-8, all of which are plainly chosen as a warning against idols.

The day was probably not observed at Rome until the seventh century, and then it was kept as the Octave of Christmas. But it included some special reference to the Blessed Virgin, being celebrated at the church of S. Mary *at the Martyrs*. This is the celebrated Roman temple known as the Pantheon, consecrated to Christian worship in A.D. 608.

> 'glorious dome!
> Shalt thou not last? Time's scythe and tyrants' rods
> Shiver upon thee—sanctuary and home
> Of art and piety—Pantheon! pride of Rome!'[1]

§ 3. *Festivals of the Blessed Virgin and S. John Baptist.*

At the time when S. Augustine came to England the Roman Church celebrated no festivals in honour of the Blessed Virgin. In or near the seventh century four festivals in her commemoration were introduced

[1] Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, iv. 146.

at Rome from the East, viz. the Purification, the Annunciation, the Falling Asleep, the Nativity. The growth of the cultus of the Blessed Virgin in modern Romanism, and the contrast between the ancient and the present practice of the Church of Rome, may be illustrated by the following fact. In the English Roman Catholic diocese of Southwark in A.D. 1899 six entire months were either placed under the patronage of Mary or connected with devotions in her honour, while several days in the remaining months were consecrated to her novenas and festivals.[1]

The Purification, February 2, is the oldest festival of the Blessed Virgin. It is really the feast of the Presentation of our Lord in the Temple. Being held forty days after the birth of our Lord, its date depended on the date of Christmas. The *Peregrinatio Silviae* shows that about A.D. 385 it was held on February 14, forty days after the Eastern Christmas Day. The time of its introduction at Rome is uncertain, but probably it was during the seventh century. The popular English name for the festival is *Candlemas*, the name being derived from the procession with lighted candles which took place before Mass. The custom of brilliantly illuminating our principal churches on this festival was continued after the Reformation. In the seventeenth century the Puritans reproached Bishop Cosin with thus illuminating Durham Cathedral. At the end of the eighteenth century the custom survived at Ripon minster (cf. the Christmas-tide lights at Manchester cathedral). The lights are typical of Him who came to be 'a light to lighten the Gentiles,' and was on this day received by Symeon with these words. But the origin of the procession at Rome was probably connected with the wish to provide a Christian

[1] *Almanac and Guide to the Services of the Church in the Diocese of Southwark* (Catholic Truth Society, 1899).

substitute for the heathen *amburbiale*. The pagan Romans considered the first half of February as unlucky, and held a procession to drive away evil spirits. An ancient Roman formula for the benediction of candles points to the same superstition, and Pope Innocent III. testifies to the heathen prototype of the Christian procession.[1]

The Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, March 25. This festival seems to be first mentioned in a homily by Sophronius of Jerusalem in the seventh century. It is unmistakably mentioned in A.D. 692, when the Council of Constantinople in Trullo forbade any festivals to be observed in Lent except the Sabbath, the Lord's Day, and the Annunciation. This festival was borrowed by the Church of Rome from the Greek Churches in the seventh century. But the day had been recognised at Rome as the day on which the Incarnation took place, long before an actual festival was celebrated. The oldest Western festival of the Annunciation was non-Roman. The synod of Toledo of A.D. 656 mentions it as 'the feast of the Holy Virgin,' celebrated on December 18. As late as the eleventh century the French bishops disputed whether they should observe December 18 or March 25 as the festival of the Annunciation. At Milan the ancient tradition is still kept by celebrating the Annunciation on the last Sunday in Advent. It seems certain that the reason for placing the festival in December was not that the Annunciation was believed to have taken place in that month, but the wish to avoid keeping the festival in Lent.

The popular English name for the festival is *Lady Day*, as it was anciently and rightly considered to be the greatest festival of our Lady, whom we never contemplate so duly as when we contemplate her 'with and for her Son.'

[1] *Sermo in Festo Purif. Mariae*, 12; Martene, *De Ritibus*, iii. c. vii. p. 104.

The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, September 8. This festival is mentioned in the homilies of Andreas of Crete in the seventh century. It was borrowed from the Greek Churches by the Roman Church in the seventh century, and appears in the Gelasian Sacramentary. It seems uncertain why this day should have been selected to commemorate the birth of Mary.

The Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, December 8. This festival is probably of English origin. It was observed in the eleventh century by the Benedictine monks at Canterbury; and the Synod of London, of A.D. 1328, claimed for it the authority of S. Anselm. Its date is nine months before the date of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. The festival was accepted at Rome, where it has gained a new importance since Pope Pius IX., in 1854, promulgated the doctrine of the *Immaculate* Conception of the Blessed Virgin, according to which Mary was conceived without any stain of original sin, a doctrine unknown to the primitive Church. The result has been a great increase in the veneration paid to Mary. The alleged visions at Lourdes were naturally regarded as a certificate both for this doctrine and for the infallibility of the Pope who had proclaimed it. Thus a festival, which is probably of English origin, has accentuated the most important differences between the modern Roman Church and the modern English Church.

The Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, July 2. This festival commemorates the visit of the Mother of God to the mother of the Forerunner. It is of comparatively late origin, having been first made prominent when S. Bonaventure, the head of the Franciscan order, directed that it should be observed by the Franciscans in A.D. 1263. It spread throughout the Western Churches when ratified by Pope Urban VI. in A.D. 1378.

. . . . . .

At the time of the Reformation there was expunged from our kalendar the festival of the *Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, August 15. The festival has had a remarkable history, which deserves careful attention. It was unknown in any form in the oldest Roman, French, and British books. It is not mentioned in the Sacramentary of Bobbio. But in the seventh century there was introduced into Rome the Greek festival of the 'falling asleep of Mary' (in Latin *Dormitio Mariae*). The words 'dormire' and 'pausare' were common words to describe the death of a Christian, and the names *Dormitio* and *Pausatio* need not imply anything more than a Christian death.

While the festival was gaining in popularity a meaning became attached to it which implied that the Blessed Virgin did not remain under the power of death like other Christians, but was taken bodily from her tomb by the power of God and placed in heaven. No trace of any belief that Mary was exempt from death is found in any Christian literature till about A.D. 375, when S. Epiphanius, in commenting on *Rev.* xii. 14, suggests that Mary perhaps did not die.[1] His words on this verse are: 'Perhaps it can find its fulfilment in her. But I do not absolutely declare this, and I do not say that she remained immortal: but neither do I asseverate that she died.' He modestly leaves the matter quite an open question. And he gives no hint to the effect that Mary first died and was then removed from the grave to heaven. At a later time considerable influence was exercised by the writings of S. Gregory of Tours, a great ecclesiastic of Gaul, A.D. 590. He quoted an apocryphal and heretical romance, previously condemned at Rome by Pope Gelasius, in which it was asserted that the body of Mary was taken up into heaven after her death. The story does not occur in any early Father, and it is closely

[1] Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxviii. c. 11.

parallel to other apocryphal stories concerning Moses and Isaiah. The story, so innocently introduced, became widely accepted. It is possible that it is implied in the Gelasian Sacramentary, which already uses the term *Assumptio* or 'taking up,' and the fact that this Sacramentary shows the marks of Gallican influence makes it possible that its phraseology was moulded by the story quoted by Gregory of Tours. But the term *Assumptio* is not by itself conclusive, and this Sacramentary contains no clear trace of the story. On the other hand, the Gregorian Sacramentary, of the eighth century, distinctly implies it by saying that the 'Mother of God endured temporal death, and nevertheless could not be holden by the bonds of death.'

Before the Norman Conquest the title *Dormitio* was laid aside in England in favour of *Assumptio*, and the Leofric Missal contains the same words as those quoted from the Gregorian Sacramentary.

The non-Roman Western rites throw some light on the history of the belief. For the Church of Milan now has no indigenous service for the festival. It has adapted the Roman service for its own use by choosing for its lection from the Old Testament the passage in *Ecclus.* xxiv., which speaks of the divine Wisdom, and which takes the place of an 'Epistle' in the Roman rite. And like the Roman rite it has for its 'Gospel' *S. Luke* x. 38-42. These two passages, though exquisite in themselves, are of such a character that they could not have been chosen at both Milan and Rome by a mere coincidence. The first passage immediately challenges criticism when employed so as to suggest that even the highest of creatures can be fitly described by the titles of the eternal and creative Wisdom. And the second passage challenges criticism when employed so as to suggest that in spiritual dignity the Mother of Christ was only on a level with the sister of Martha. The Mozarabic Missal has borrowed the

same Gospel, and the compiler, being evidently conscious that it could not be fitly applied to the Mother of our Lord, appended *S. Luke* xi. 27, 28 without any sign that the passages do not occur consecutively in the Bible.

The Mozarabic service contains another interesting point. It has a singular 'Illatio' or Preface, which shows us the ideas which popularised a belief in the bodily Assumption. Amid the rhetoric so common in this Missal, it says: 'What is believed to be not doubtful concerning Enoch, or more certain concerning Elias, we confess so much the more truly concerning John or Mary.' This confession shows how a wish that the two who were dearest to Jesus might even now be in the body with Jesus fostered the conviction that they are. The 'Post-sanctus' for S. John's Day, with strange inconsistency, speaks of his body as still remaining uncorrupted and asleep in his tomb. The latter legend is an instance of arrested development. The honour which was vaguely desired for both was eventually only accorded to one.

In the East, though the legend of the Assumption is widespread, the festival of August 15 retains its ancient title, Κοίμησις (falling asleep). The Eastern pictures which represent the event of that day depict our Lord as receiving the soul of His dying mother. They are quite different from the pictures of a bodily assumption.

In A.D. 1741 it was formally discussed at Rome whether the name *Assumptio* should not be given up.[1] The discussion bore no fruit. The result is that the bodily assumption of Mary is now correlated with the new dogma of her Immaculate Conception, and it is taught that the body of Mary must have been taken into heaven, because it was always entirely without sin.

[1] P. Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, p. 308 (English edition).

Festivals of S. John Baptist, June 24, August 29. After the Mother of our Lord, S. John Baptist held the foremost place in the esteem of Catholic Christians. He, 'the Forerunner' of Christ, is always depicted on the sanctuary screen of the orthodox churches of the East. In the West he was equally honoured until the modern propagation of the cultus of S. Joseph, a cultus unknown to our English forefathers, began to drive both the Baptist and S. John the Evangelist into comparative oblivion among Roman Catholic Christians. The cathedral church of Rome, the Lateran basilica, is dedicated under his name. According to the New Testament, the birth of the Baptist took place six months before the birth of our Lord. Hence the festival is at the end of June. The festival would naturally have been on June 25, which would have allowed an interval of exactly six months between the birth of the Redeemer and that of his Forerunner. The day is June 24, and not 25, because June has thirty days and December thirty-one, and as the Romans reckoned the last days of the month *backward* from the beginning of the next month, June 24 was chosen inasmuch as it is the same number of days before July 1 as December 25 is before January 1. The festival is of Western origin, and is quite as old as the early part of the fifth century.

The non-Roman Western rites originally kept their festival of the birth of S. John the Baptist after the Epiphany, as is shown by the kalendar of Perpetuus of Tours (A.D. 460-490). But in these rites the birthday of the Baptist was thrown into the shade by the next festival on our list.

August 29 is the festival of the Beheading (in Latin *Decollatio*) of S. John Baptist. This is a French and Greek festival which was afterwards adopted at Rome. The importance of it in countries of the non-Roman Western rite may be seen from the fact that the

Church of Milan still reckons five of the Sundays of the year 'after the Decollation.'

§ 4. *Festivals of the Apostles, etc.*

S. Peter and S. Paul. It does not appear that the Western Churches ever commemorated these apostles on December 28. They suffered martyrdom at Rome in the time of Nero, probably in A.D. 67, though there are grounds for thinking that their martyrdom may have been in 65, near the beginning of Nero's brutal persecution. On what day the primitive Roman Church celebrated their memory is now uncertain. But in the fourth century June 29 was consecrated to this purpose. This is the day on which the relics of the two apostles were removed to the place called 'At the Catacombs' on the Appian Way, in A.D. 258, during the renewed persecution of the Church by the Emperor Valerian. In the time of the Emperor Constantine, about A.D. 330, when the freedom of the Church was secured, the relics were again separated and removed to splendid churches named after S. Peter and S. Paul respectively. It is important to notice that the Roman Church, by commemorating the two apostles on the same day, bore witness to the fact that they were the joint-founders of the Roman Church, and the joint-originators of its episcopate. This is expressly asserted by the oldest writers. For instance, S. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons in Gaul, about A.D. 185, says that the two apostles 'handed over to Linus the ministry of the episcopate,' and that the Church of Rome was 'founded and established by the two most glorious apostles, Paul and Peter.' Until the end of the Middle Ages the two apostles were commemorated on the same day in England. Cranmer by an unfortunate blunder changed this double commemoration

into a commemoration of S. Peter only, and thus removed from the English kalendar its one primitive protest against the assumption that S. Peter was the sole bishop and founder of the Roman Church.

It is worth noting that the Roman Missal contains a festival for 'the chair of S. Peter at Rome' for January 18, and 'the chair of S. Peter at Antioch' for February 22. These two festivals are supposed to commemorate the episcopate of S. Peter in these two cities respectively. So far as can now be ascertained, this supposition is without foundation. The January festival is probably a Gallican festival in honour of S. Peter. The February festival is Roman in origin, and had no special reference to the episcopate of S. Peter at Antioch, but to the promise made by our Lord to S. Peter. The Mass is the same on both days. It still contains a memorial of S. Paul, another witness to the fact that the two apostles were the joint-founders of the Roman Church.

The Conversion of S. Paul, January 25. This is a festival of Gallican origin. It occurs in the *Gothic Missal*, a French Missal of the end of the seventh century, and it was observed at Rome in the eighth century. An interesting fact is that our Epistle and Gospel for *Sexagesima* Sunday contain, the one an account of S. Paul by himself, the other a record by S. Luke, S. Paul's friend, of a parable highly appropriate to S. Paul, to whom it was given to 'know the mysteries of the kingdom of God.' In the Roman Missal for this Sunday the collect contains a direct reference to the Teacher of the Gentiles, and on this day a 'station' was held at the basilica of the apostle in Rome. It therefore appears to have been a very ancient custom at Rome to commemorate S. Paul at some time between the Epiphany and the beginning of Lent. At present it seems impossible to determine whether this practice was intended merely as a method

of instructing the faithful, or as an occasion of thanksgiving for some special event.

Lammas Day, August 1. This is a second festival of S. Peter. It commemorates the dedications of the church of the apostles on the Esquiline hill at Rome. The church, originally built by Constantine, was rebuilt about A.D. 435 at the expense of the imperial family of the Eastern Empire. The church is now known as S. Pietro in Vincoli, or S. Peter in Chains, and is celebrated as containing the great statue of Moses by Michael Angelo. The church still claims to possess the chains in which S. Peter was bound. Hence the name both of the church and the festival. The English name 'Lammas' is derived from loaf-mass, and refers to the first-fruits of wheat offered on that day at Mass.

In the eighth century the following festivals of apostles and evangelists were observed at Rome in addition to those already mentioned:

Feb.	24.	S. Matthias.
April	25.	S. Mark.
May	1.	S. Philip and S. James.
May	6.	S. John ante Portam Latinam.
July	25.	S. James.
Aug.	25.	S. Bartholomew.
Sept.	21.	S. Matthew.
Oct.	18.	S. Luke.
Oct.	28.	S. Simon and S. Jude.
Nov.	30.	S. Andrew.
Dec.	21.	S. Thomas.

The festival of S. Barnabas, June 11, is not marked in the Gregorian Sacramentary, but occurs in the Antiphonary of S. Peter's of the twelfth century. All these festivals remain in the Book of Common Prayer. It is probable that they all were introduced at Rome between the sixth and the eighth century, as not one of them occurs in the remaining portion of the Leonine

Sacramentary. None of them are found in the Philocalian kalendar, which commemorates no apostles except S. Peter and S. Paul. The S. Gallen manuscript of the Gelasian Sacramentary, written about 800, has neither the festival of S. Matthias nor that of S. Mark.

The origin of some of these festivals is possibly similar to the origin of the festival of *S. Philip and S. James*, which is the commemoration of the dedication of a church in Rome. This is the church now called *SS. Apostoli*, built about 340, rebuilt in 561, and again in 1420. The church contains Canova's monument to Pope Clement XIV., and although it is now called simply the 'Holy Apostles,' the picture over the high altar represents the martyrdom of S. Philip and S. James, in whose honour the church was dedicated to God in 561. May 1 had previously been simply S. Philip's Day. The Roman books do not enable us to determine which S. James it was intended to associate with S. Philip on May 1. Our Prayer Book intends us to commemorate the author of the *Epistle of S. James*, probably the Lord's brother, who was bishop of Jerusalem, and suffered martyrdom at Jerusalem in A.D. 62.

S. John the Evangelist ante Portam Latinam, May 6. This is a festival dating from the time of Pope Hadrian I. (A.D. 772-795). It is the anniversary of the dedication of a church near the Latin Gate at Rome. This church was restored in the twelfth century, and has been little altered since. A tradition, which was believed at the close of the second century, records that S. John was plunged into boiling oil by his persecutors at Rome, and it has been commonly held that this took place near the site of the present church.

Michaelmas Day, September 29, is the commemoration of the consecration of another church. In the Pontifical of Egbert of York the day is called the festival of the basilica of S. Michael the archangel.

This basilica, long ago destroyed, was on the Via Salaria, and was built in the sixth century. The feast is in the Leonine Sacramentary, and is therefore older than the time of S. Augustine.

The festival of All Saints (still called by some old-fashioned members of the Church of England 'All Hallows'), November 1. The origin of this festival is probably connected with the episcopate of Pope Gregory III. (A.D. 731-741), who built a chapel in the basilica of S. Peter, to which he transferred relics of the Apostles and many martyrs. In the ninth century the festival was firmly established in the Frankish dominions. It is also mentioned in the first Ordo Romanus.

The commemoration of All Souls, November 2. This festival was removed from the English kalendars at the Reformation. It was introduced at the end of the tenth century by Odilo of Cluni for the Cluniac order of monks. The commemoration gradually spread throughout the Western Church, making an irresistible appeal to the heart of the people.

CHAPTER VII

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND NATIONAL CHURCHES

> Wherein all kingdoms, laws,
> Authority, and faith do culminate,
> And draw from her their sanction and their use;
> The lighthouse founded on the rock of ages,
> Whereto the Gentiles look, and still are healed;
> The tree whose rootlets drink of every river,
> Whose boughs drop Eden fruits on seaward isles.
>
> C. KINGSLEY, *The Saint's Tragedy.*

§ 1. *The Danger of Nationalism in Religion.*

IT is often felt, even if it is not often stated, that the isolation of a national Church is justifiable on the very highest grounds. It is thought that an isolated Church best expresses the coherence and vigour of a national life. And God Himself is said to have entrusted different nations with the duty of developing different phases of Christian truth. And thus the mere isolation of a Church is supposed to leave it unfettered in fulfilling this task. But though God may permit separated Churches to illustrate different Christian truths and virtues, no Church is justified in assuming that its special duty is to illustrate one particular truth. The Church of Italy has shown a great capacity for organisation, the Church of Russia for a tenacious hold upon the past, and the Church of England for the elucidation of the New Testament.

But we have no right to devote our attention exclusively to those things which naturally attract us most. It is not the work of Christianity to imitate those modern schoolmasters who train their pupils to specialise on one congenial subject to the exclusion of all others. It is the work of Christianity to supply what each man in his natural state lacks. To persuade an educated Englishman to be penitent, and an educated Hindu to be truthful, for the sake of Christ, is a supernatural work. On the other hand, Christianity would have done but little when it had persuaded the Englishman to be always truthful and the Hindu to be always humble. For English truthfulness is often far more the result of conscious physical superiority than of the knowledge of God. And Hindu humility is perhaps more often the result of ages of oppression than of the sense of moral failure.

No national Church can legitimately aim at producing less than a completely Christ-like character. Nor can it legitimately witness to anything less than the whole of Christian doctrine. The notion that different Churches should impress upon their members one truth rather than another might conceivably be sound if the people could be brought under the influence of all these witnesses. This is plainly impossible. The whole truth must be expounded. We must hope that the people of Great Britain will worship with a spontaneous devotion as deep as that of any Celt, that they will read the Bible as thoroughly as any Teuton, that they will appreciate the sacraments as much as any Slav. It is right that we should reckon patriotism in religion as a virtue. But it is a boisterous virtue. It requires to be chastened by associations which are not born of a common language and common political institutions. These associations are born in the Catholic Church. The Church is of no country, because it is of all. In it there is neither Teuton, Celt, nor Slav, but

simply men regenerate through the life of the Second Adam.

If we allow our criticism to begin, like charity, at home, we must confess that the isolation in which members of the Church of England were content to live a hundred years ago had some very unfortunate results for practical religion. To foreigners we often appear to be extremely illogical in our religion. And their notion is not altogether unjust. For vast numbers of English people omitted first one wholesome religious practice and then another, all of which they would have certainly retained if they had been really conscious that they were members of the 'Church universal.' But the English, nevertheless, have the rough, instinctive logic of people who are open to a new conviction, and will act upon a conviction when it is once formed. The sect-life of England in recent times has been generated by such convictions. The clergy, as a body, did not adequately teach the value of the Sunday Eucharist. And enthusiastic persons now attend the weekly 'breaking of bread' among the Plymouth Brethren. In multitudes of churches no word was said about sacramental confession and absolution, except when the address before communion was read. And people laden with sin attempt to unburden themselves at Methodist revivals, and kneel in penitence in the halls of the Salvation Army. The unction of the sick was discontinued in spite of direct scriptural authority. And converts are therefore turning to the impious pretences of 'Christian Science.' The duty of prayer for the departed, and our fellowship with the angels and the saints, were frequently ignored. And we have been punished by a godless spiritualism and a craving for the use of mediums and planchettes. We had no monasteries and no 'third order' for the laity, like that of S. Francis and S. Dominic, and men and women have turned in shoals to a religion which gave

them something to do, whether it is local preaching or marching behind a drum. In short, we members of the Church of England have been afraid of being too Catholic, and we have run a considerable risk of being nothing at all.

The study of Church history reveals facts which are still more serious. For we find ourselves perpetually confronted by the action of two potent but mistaken principles of which the enemy of God has availed himself in thwarting the work of the Holy Spirit. The first is the principle of imposing one's own nationality upon another nation in the pretended interests of religious unity, and the second is the assertion of national independence against the claims of Catholic truth. The most irremediable schisms in Christianity, the most irrevocable losses to heathenism, to Islam, and to modern unbelief, can often be directly traced to these two principles. We might take from early Church history the familiar instance of the different theological tendencies of Alexandria and Antioch. The theology of the former city tended to be mystical; it took pleasure in realising the sense of direct communion with God, it valued the Incarnation and the sacraments as means of this communion, and in the interpretation of Scripture it employed allegory to extract a divine meaning from what appeared to be the most human sentiments. The theology of Antioch was more practical; it laid stress upon the moral value of our Lord's human example, and interpreted the Bible with a cool and critical common-sense. Both temperaments had their distinct merits, the one might have supplemented the other, and the two in union might have been of permanent value to the Christian Church. But the two tendencies became two fanaticisms, none the less pernicious from the fact that they were supported with great zeal and genuine learning. And after a few generations Eastern Christianity was split

into Catholicism, Monophysitism, and Nestorianism, and in a few generations more the stateliest churches in Alexandria and Antioch echoed with the Arab cry, 'There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God.'

Sometimes, again, the original wound may be slight and almost accidental. And then nationalism comes in to inflame and irritate the wound. Such was the division between the Greeks and the Armenians. The Armenians, soon won to Christ, had already produced men of a Christian piety and culture which augured well for the future of the Church. Engaged in a war with the heathen Persians, who were persecuting the Christians, they took no part in the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451, became separated from the orthodox Greeks, adopted with innocent motives some questionable theological expressions, and found themselves engaged in interminable disputes which each party identified with the assertion of its own nationality. Traces of a better feeling have lately been manifested. But the fact remains that, whereas Constantinople now contains nearly as many Christians as Turks, the Christians form two separate communities, which the Turks have bullied alternately to the injury of Christendom.

The hideous scandals which prepared the way for the separation between Rome and the Eastern Churches would probably not have consummated the schism if nationalism had not once more been in question. Peace became difficult when Pope Sergius III. supported the immoral emperor Leo 'the philosopher,' who exiled Nicolas the Patriarch of Constantinople for refusing to allow him to marry a fourth wife, an act regarded by the Easterns as incontinent. It became still harder twenty-six years later, when the legates of the Pope arrived at Constantinople to impose upon the chief see in Greek Christendom a Roman patriarch

aged thirteen, who was the son of a prostituted daughter of the same Pope Sergius. And the final rupture took place over the question of the jurisdiction of the Pope of Rome and the Patriarch of Constantinople in Southern Italy, a large portion of which had belonged in the tenth century to the Byzantine empire, and had been put under a Greek episcopate. In the Latin towns the Popes appointed Latin bishops, and when the Normans gained possession of Apulia, they, as members of a Western Church, made a compact with the Pope, and restored all Apulia to Rome. This was the immediate cause of the rupture, a rupture which might easily have been prevented if the leading actors had been more anxious for the unity of the Church than for their own rights of precedence. No one who follows the miserable story can doubt that national aversion was the main cause of the schism.[1] The Greeks wished to impose their own rites and their own organisation on a country that was partly Latin, and the Latins wished to do the same to the Greeks. They despised each other.

Of more modern troubles it is scarcely necessary to speak, because the facts are too familiar. The assertion of nationality which was conspicuous in the early part of the sixteenth century was sometimes, though not invariably, attended by an arrogant and unsympathetic temper which was hostile to the best interests of religion. The conflicting parties sometimes did not wish to understand each other, and the Latin races, on the whole, remained in union with Rome, while the Teutonic races, with some very notable exceptions in West and South Germany and in Austria, separated from that union. That the two groups of races might have learned much from religious unity, and might still do so, cannot be seriously disputed. The Englishman who

[1] So Professor J. B. Bury in his edition of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. vi. p. 371.

is unable to refer to the religion of Southern Europe without a sneer at the 'worn-out Latin races' shows the same ignorance as the Italian Jesuit newspaper which can scarcely mention England without an insult.

Assuming, then, that anything which exalts one nationality at the expense of another, anything which may fitly be called mere nationalism in religion, is an evil, we may proceed to consider the relation of the Catholic Church to the national or local Churches of which it is composed.

§ 2. *The Catholic Church is the Ultimate Earthly Authority in Religion.*

No prudent man objects to authority provided he is convinced that it is authority of a just kind. And all would probably agree that authority in religion is the right to teach and control the spiritual life. The Catholic Christian believes that this right belongs to the visible Catholic Church as a whole. It is therefore to a certain extent outside him, and yet in a very true sense it is within him, inasmuch as he is a member of that Church. And just as man only realises the full advantages of civilisation by being the member of a great society, so it is only in the new society which Christ founded that man gains a full participation in the blessings of redemption. To take one very simple instance: I should not have the opportunity of reading the New Testament if the members of that society had not written, preserved, and collected the books which compose it.

An objection which is frequently urged against the Catholic doctrine of the Church is that it hinders the direct access of the soul to the Saviour. The answer to this objection is that the human soul has direct access to the Divine Saviour, not precisely where and

how the soul chooses but where the Saviour commands. And the blessings which our Lord promised to individuals are promised primarily to individuals as members of a society which He describes as a Kingdom and a Church. We find the presence of our Lord in His Church, for He has promised it to His Church, and it is on the presence of the living Christ with His Church that the authority of the Church depends. He has specially promised His presence in three particulars: First, in faith and doctrine, for He says, 'Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost . . . and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' Secondly, in worship and in sacraments, for He says, 'Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them,' and He gives His presence in the Eucharist and in the effect of baptism. Thirdly, in government and discipline, for He says, 'Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven'; and He says to the apostles, 'As the Father hath sent Me, even so send I you.' And if we take into account not only what our Lord said, but also what He did, we are bound to consider what took place when He baptized His disciples with the Holy Ghost after His ascension. It was this Spirit of Christ which caused the disciples to organise themselves, to settle their relation towards one another, and finally to include other nations in their society. The apostles exercised authority in the three particulars mentioned above, for we are told that the first believers 'continued in the apostles' teaching, and fellowship, and in the breaking of bread and the prayers.' They knew that this was liberty. For liberty of conscience is no more impaired by obedience to authority than liberty of action is impaired by obedience to the laws of health.

When the Church spread onwards to Antioch,

Ephesus, and Rome, the local Churches remained one Church in spite of certain differences of race, language, and custom. So long as the local Churches retained the 'teaching of the apostles' concerning the Holy Trinity and the method of salvation, and kept the sacraments and the apostolic government, they remained in the one body. We have no reason to suppose that any different law operates to-day. Any society which rejects the apostolic doctrine, or fails to keep genuine sacraments, or rejects the apostolic government, which is now represented by the episcopate, unchurches itself. It loses all authority, for authority is only guaranteed to the Church which Christ founded. And as the life of a limb is subordinate to the life of a body, so the power of a national Church is subordinate to the power of the whole Church. The twentieth article of the Church of England is therefore plainly reasonable when it declares that 'the Church' hath authority in controversies of faith. Our proximate authority is the local, national, or 'particular' Church to which we belong, just as in primitive times the proximate authority for a Christian at Antioch or Rome was the authority at Antioch or Rome. But ultimately our authority, under Christ, is that of the Church as a whole.

But, it is asked, where is this one visible Church, to the general voice of which we can appeal? We can only answer that it is the same Church which has existed from the beginning, maintaining a true belief in the Incarnation, an apostolical ministry, and genuine sacraments. Until the separation of Eastern Christendom from Western Christendom, the Church, though not free from jealousies, was a unity outwardly as well as inwardly. We may charitably think that those ancient Eastern communities which had previously separated from this unity contained many

good people, who were influenced more by ignorance than by malice. But we cannot give the name of Catholic to the doctrine of the Incarnation as taught by their leaders. We cannot reckon the Monophysite and the Nestorian as Catholics.[1] The Catholic Church at the beginning of the eleventh century consisted simply of two parts, centred respectively at Rome and Constantinople. Those parts outwardly divided in A.D. 1054, and neither part could then be said to constitute the whole Church. The rupture was caused by questions of Church government. The question of doctrine was in abeyance. And in spite of the hostility existing between the Pope and the Patriarch of Constantinople, the rupture was less complete than is ordinarily supposed. When the Russian Archimandrite, Daniel of Kiev, visited the Holy Land about A.D. 1106-7, he was entertained by the Latin bishop at Nazareth, and found that certain services were held in common by the two portions of the Church. The development of a Papal monarchy and of new theological theories in the West made the outer difference deeper. But in their spiritual life East and West were essentially one.

After five centuries came other deep divisions. The Papacy, after an opportunity for reform, stood still, not aggressive, but obstructive. The Church of England set aside Papal jurisdiction without introducing any organic change. The Lutheran and Calvinist reformers who did introduce organic changes cut themselves off from the Church. We do not unchurch them, they unchurched themselves. But the Church of England remains essentially a part of the visible

[1] It seems the more probable opinion that the Armenians cannot fairly be called Monophysites. With regard to the Person of our Lord, their error is, at least in many cases, merely verbal. But the fact that, while condemning Eutyches, they have not yet accepted the fourth General Council, compels us to distinguish between them and the Catholics of the East.

Catholic Church, a part not by abstraction, but by continuous incorporation. It has existed in this land for thirteen centuries. And the spiritual experiences of the Church of England, since the Reformation as well as before it, must be taken into account when we determine what is Catholic and what is not Catholic.[1] Nor can we deny the same privilege to those small communities of Catholics on the Continent, who, like ourselves, have during the last two hundred years been excommunicated by Rome, simply for denying that a recognition of the Papal claims is essential to Catholic communion. The words 'Catholic Church' have therefore a perfectly clear and definite meaning for us. The Church of England does not excommunicate the Pope. And it does not excommunicate the Patriarch of Constantinople, nor even say that the Church of Constantinople ever erred, though no intelligent Eastern could deny the truth of our Article xix., which asserts that in times past the Churches of certain Eastern patriarchates did fall into error.[2]

An obvious objection to the Anglican theory of the Church is sometimes raised by Roman Catholics. They say that we hold a theory about the whole Church which the Church as a whole rejects, and that we therefore set aside the authority of the very Church to whose authority we appeal. To put the matter in the plainest way, they say we include the Roman Catholics and the Orthodox Easterns in the Church, whereas all the Roman Catholics and the majority of the Orthodox Easterns deny that Anglicans are members of the Catholic Church. We therefore reject

[1] Of course this does not apply to temporary traditions of practice which have run counter to the continuous custom of the undivided Church. For instance, the custom of infrequent celebrations, so general in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, represents a false tradition.

[2] Thus every well-instructed Eastern knows that in the seventeenth century the Patriarch Cyril Lucar was deposed for Calvinism.

the opinion of the majority of those whom we call Catholic. The argument looks specious. But it is not valid. For the opinion of the majority of Catholics at any given moment is not necessarily right, nor does it possess dogmatic force. And with regard to Eastern views of the Anglican Church, we find two classes. It is usual for the more conservative and less well-informed to pass an unfavourable verdict, but this is by no means always the verdict of the better educated. The opinion of the latter class with regard to the Anglican Church is increasingly favourable, and assumes that where that Church is imperfect it might still restore itself by a process of organic development. The warmest Anglican would at once admit that so far as practice is concerned this restoration is urgently needed, though some such restoration is needed everywhere, inasmuch as the supernatural life of the Church has nowhere fully moulded its earthly material. And with regard to doctrine, the essential unity between England and the East ought not to be very difficult to demonstrate. To take a very recent instance, we may mention the welcome given by some members of the Greek Church to a simple statement of Anglican belief drawn up by the present Bishop of Salisbury.[1]

The Catholic Church, then, is neither a phantom nor a ruin, but a solid and accessible reality. It is composed of various local Churches, and the authority of the Church in matters of doctrine depends on the consensus and agreement of these Churches. The members of this Catholic Church have often differed and disputed. Some have excluded others from communion with them. But all who have approached the facts with balanced minds have assured themselves that many supposed barriers between the separated portions

[1] The Right Rev. John Wordsworth, D.D. *Some Points in the Teaching of the Church of England, etc.*, published by the S.P.C.K.

of the Church are no barriers at all. Some of those who oppose our theory of the Church speak as if it left us in a doctrinal fog. They can understand a man making a creed entirely for himself. And they can understand a man handing his faith, like a blank cheque, to be filled up at the Vatican. But they honestly imagine that we have no logical system at all. We must assure them that we regard the consensus of the Church as a living force. In bygone times it collected the books of the New Testament, it set its seal to the creeds, it continued to speak in the genuine Councils of the Church. It still says 'yes,' and it still says 'no.' On all the most vital points of doctrine its meaning is perfectly clear and intelligible. And where it is not yet clear, no Christian may anticipate the action of the Holy Spirit by representing his opinion as necessary to be believed. The same rule applies to each national Church. If it endeavours to develop any particular aspect of doctrinal truth, it can only do so on the assumption that the new development is tentative and cannot be enforced as necessary. For the consensus of the whole Church has in every age expounded the truth in a manner which is infallibly sufficient for the salvation of those who wished to be saved. It will continue to do so until the end of the world. For we have the promise of our Lord that against His Church the gates of Hades shall not prevail.

§ 3. *The Authority of the Bible is the Authority of the Catholic Church.*

In upholding the authority of the Church we uphold the authority of the Bible. Among us the authority of the Church does not dethrone the authority of the Bible, nor does the authority of the Bible dethrone

the authority of the Church. It is a fundamental misconception to regard them as two rival competitors for our belief or to suppose that we can really cleave to the one and despise the other. We cannot appeal to the Bible as if the Bible were a separate authority, nor can we appeal to the Church on the supposition that the Bible is out of date. For the Bible is the Church's own testimony. The Old Testament belongs to that one sacred 'root' into which S. Paul assures us that the Gentiles have been grafted. And the books of the New Testament are the finest literary blossoms on the upper branches of the tree. The Church is anterior to the New Testament, and the truths contained in the New Testament are simply the expansion of the doctrine known to the apostles in the earliest days after the descent of the Holy Ghost. The saints who wrote the New Testament wrote down what existed in their own souls through the power of the Holy Ghost. And their souls are not superior to the Church, but are a part of the Church.

We therefore warmly appreciate the position which our Articles assign to the Bible. Article vi., in direct opposition to Luther and Calvin, makes the Canon of Scripture depend upon the consensus of the Church. Luther made the authority of the Scripture depend upon the 'internal testimony of the Spirit,' and the Second Helvetic Confession, which represents the doctrine of the non-Lutheran Protestants, does practically the same thing when it says that 'the canonical Scriptures . . . have sufficient authority of themselves, not of men.' This and other Calvinistic statements such as the Scottish Confession of A.D. 1560, sharply distinguish between the authority of the Church and that of the Divine Author of the Bible. A modern Presbyterian writer has thus summed up the matter: 'They answered that the divine authority of Scripture is self-evidencing, that the regenerate man needs no

other evidence, and that only the regenerate can appreciate the evidence. It follows from this, if he do not feel the evidence of their contents, any man may reject books claiming to be Holy Scripture. . . . The Church disappeared; the personal conviction was all in all.'[1] Precisely. It is for that reason that Luther ridiculed the Epistle of S. James, because it would not square with his own perversion of the teaching of S. Paul. Another distinguished Presbyterian, Dr. A. B. Bruce, has said that the canon of Scripture, though it is practically a closed question, is in the abstract an open question, and 'never can be anything else on the principles of Protestantism.'[2] For us it is not an open question. The Church has answered it by the power of the Holy Ghost. And the Church remains 'a witness and keeper of holy writ.' When devout Protestants make use of the Scriptures, they are simply using a treasure which the inspired prudence of the Catholic Church amassed. The use of it by individuals who are separated from the Church is often blessed by God. But the Bible does not belong to any religious body outside the Church. The Church which collected the New Testament is the Church which, in the same century, wrote the Nicene Creed. And the Church of the Nicene age was a dogmatic Church, a sacramental Church, a hierarchical Church. If its doctrine was false and its worship and government were false, we cannot logically say that its Canon of the New Testament is necessarily true. If we doubt the Church, we must doubt the Bible. If we accept the Church, we accept the Bible. And whenever we appeal to the one, we are equally appealing to the other.

The Bible is not only a testimony of the Church. It is the testimony of men with unique opportunities

[1] Dr. A. H. Charteris, *The New Testament Scriptures*, pp. 203, 204.
[2] *Apologetics*, p. 321.

and with special gifts. These opportunities and gifts have never been so rich and fresh since the apostolic age. And therefore the Bible is the greatest testimony of the Church. And the Church must perpetually consult the Bible as the prudent householder consults his own account-books. The Bible is the exact record of the riches which God has entrusted to our stewardship, and the touchstone of our expenditure. And our Articles imply that doctrine at every stage must be checked by reference to the Bible and that ceremonies must not be contrary to the Bible. 'Although the Church be a witness and a keeper of holy Writ, yet, as it ought not to decree anything against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation' (Article xx.). So also 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation' (Article vi.). Consequently the three Creeds themselves are to be believed, 'for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture' (Article viii.). What the Church teaches in the Creeds she proves by Holy Scripture. That is, she shows that her authoritative teaching in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries was in precise accordance with her teaching in the first century. In each case the ultimate authority is herself; that is, Christ in her and with her as her life.

§ 4. *The Authority of the Catholic Church is manifested in a Body of Doctrine.*

It is so important to insist that the Anglican theory of the nature of the Catholic Church gives us an

adequate system of doctrine, that a few facts with regard to the consensus of the Church at the present time may not be out of place. The Greek, Roman, and Anglican hold identical views with regard to the being and the attributes of the Godhead. Even though the Orientals do not accept the phrase which declares that the Holy Ghost proceeds 'from the Son,' a mutual understanding is more than possible. The writings of S. Basil and other Orientals esteemed in the West point directly to reconciliation. All are agreed with regard to the Person and the atoning work of Jesus Christ. Nothing but a verbal distinction divides them on the question of man's justification and acceptance with God. All revere the same New Testament, and the additional value which certain Catholics set upon the Apocrypha makes no very vital distinction in the attitude taken towards the Bible.[1] All are united with regard to the degrees and duties of bishops, priests, and deacons, though Greek and Anglican alike believe that the Bishop of Rome has claimed a degree which is not his by right. All agree that the soul is regenerate by Baptism, that it is strengthened by the Holy Spirit in confirmation, that it is absolved through the ministry of the priesthood, and sustained by the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.* This list by no means exhausts the facts. But it is both impressive and consoling. It is enough to make us labour for an active policy of peace. And the doctrines which it implies are wedded to the same Christian virtues throughout the world. The Christian and Catholic character is substantially the same thing wherever it is found. When it is corrupted it is the worst of characters. But when it is corrupted it is neither Christian nor Catholic.

[1] The Orthodox Russian Church has exactly the same canon of Scripture as the Church of England. S. Jerome had the same.

Before the division of the West from the East the Church spoke in seven assemblies which, either by delegation or by subsequent consent, represented the mind of the members of Christ.[1] The love of God may be seen in this—that before the joint action of the Church became impaired, every important question had been asked and answered that could bear upon the personality of Jesus Christ, from the truth that He was 'truly' God to the truth that His human will was real. Of these seven Œcumenical Councils the first four are the more important, because they really implied the future decisions. They mark out certain limits, beyond which the sincere Christian mind cannot wish to move. So according to the law of this realm nothing is to be adjudged heresy but which heretofore hath been so adjudged 'by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or by the first four General Councils, or any of them, or by any other General Council, wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of the said canonical Scriptures, or such as hereafter shall be ordered, judged, or determined to be heresy by the High Court of Parliament of this realm, with the assent of the clergy in their Convocation'[2] (1 Eliz. c. i. § 6). With regard to the three later Councils of the Church, no clear and binding statement has been made by the Church of

[1] So our celebrated Elizabethan divine, Richard Field, says 'there are but seven general councils that the whole Church acknowledgeth called to determine matters of faith and manners. For the rest that were holden afterwards, which our adversaries would have to be accounted general, they are not only rejected by us, but by the Grecians also, as not general, but patriarchal only.' (*Of the Church*, bk. v. chap. li. pp. 61, 62, in vol. iv. of Cambridge edition, 1852). In this chapter Field, while acknowledging the seven councils, distinguishes the first six, as called 'touching matters of faith,' from the seventh, which dealt with 'manners,' *e.g.* ceremonies. It will be seen below that a certain question of faith was really involved in the seventh.

[2] The doctrine of the first four Councils of the Church is described above in chap. ii. pp. 43-63.

England since the Reformation. They are, however, mentioned in the Homilies, to which assent is required of clergymen of the Church of England, to the effect that they 'contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times.' The 'times' are particularly those of Queen Elizabeth. The Homily 'against peril of idolatry' deals with the veneration of images in a temper which shows a reaction against later mediæval superstition. It mentions that 'Constantine, bishop of Rome, caused the images of the ancient fathers, which had been at those *six councils* which were allowed and received of all men, to be painted in the entry of S. Peter's Church of Rome.'[1] Here the authority of six of the seven Councils seems to be recognised. But a little later the action of the seventh Council is condemned as 'commanding and decreeing that images should be worshipped.' And the Homily says that at this Council 'the bishops and learned men also fall to idolatry by occasion of images.'[2] The Homily goes on to approve the action of the Council of Frankfurt, which condemned the seventh General Council, although the prelates at Frankfurt neither knew where the Council was held nor what it decided.[3]

The Homily abounds with vulgar language, but this need not make us deny that it contains doctrine wholesome for the times in which it was written. A quotation which it gives from Naclantus openly defends the giving of adoration to images, and the veneration of images at the close of the Middle Ages included the giving to them the veneration of dulia, hyperdulia, and latreia according to the dignity of the person

[1] *Homilies appointed to be read in Churches in the Time of Queen Elizabeth*, Oxford edition, 1840, p. 182, in the sermon against Peril of Idolatry.

[2] *op. cit.* p. 185.

[3] See *The Seven Œcumenical Councils*, edited by Henry R. Percival p. 584 (Oxford and New York, 1900).

represented. But the seventh Council sanctions none of these three kinds of veneration, it expressly denies that divine worship may be paid to sacred pictures, and only upholds their 'salutation and honourable veneration.' The salutation probably includes kissing, and the veneration includes bowing and surrounding with incense and lights. The end is stated to be to 'lift men up to the memory of their prototypes,' and the outward signs of reverence are the same as those which were given to the pictures of the emperor. The veneration is in fact similar to that which is given to the New Testament in every English police-court when the witness kisses it. And the Council itself puts the veneration of the sacred pictures on the same level as the veneration of 'the book of the Gospels.' Just as we must regret the indecent tone of part of this Homily, we must also regret that it does not draw an exact distinction between the actual language of the Council and the later mediæval doctrine. The decrees of the Council are said to teach 'that images are to be honoured and *worshipped*, as is before declared; so yet do they it warily and fearfully, in comparison to the blasphemous bold blazing of manifest idolatry to be done to images, set forth of late.'[1] This is an attempt to draw a just distinction. But the language is inadequate, for we have to remember that *worship*, which in old-fashioned English might simply mean 'respect' or 'venerate,' also meant worship with divine honours. The same is true of the Greek word for *veneration*. But the Council carefully excludes veneration with divine honours from that veneration which it claims for the book of the Gospels and the pictures of Christ and the saints. It therefore cannot be fairly maintained that the Council sanctioned idolatry. And we must not overlook the fact that

[1] *op. cit.* p. 211.

the Council intimately connected the aforesaid ceremonies with doctrinal definitions. The doctrine is a new assertion of the doctrine of the earlier Councils with regard to the Person of our Lord. The Council sanctioned the veneration of pictures chiefly for the sake of the pictures of Christ. And the special reason for revering a material picture of Christ was the desire to emphasise the fact that the material human nature of our Lord was real and was not a phantom. The tradition of making sacred pictures is said to be 'useful in many respects, but especially in this that so the incarnation of the Word of God is shown forth as real and not merely phantastic, for these have mutual indications, and without doubt have also mutual significations.' The Council was directed against the Iconoclasts, and the head and front of the Iconoclasts' offending was their rejection of the God-Man's image. 'The material representation of the Saviour,' says Professor Bury, one of the most learned modern historians, 'was clung to by the Greeks as a visible warrant and surety of His human nature.'[1] It is the failure of Englishmen to see that the seventh Council had at heart the truth asserted in our second Article of Religion, which has dulled English sympathy with its motives.

Assuming, then, that the Church of England enforces the doctrines of the seven Œcumenical Councils, though it does not enforce all their ceremonies,[2] we must ask

[1] Professor J. B. Bury, *The Pilot*, November 3, 1900. See also some temperate explanations by the celebrated Protestant historian Neander, *History of the Christian Religion and Church*, vol. v. p. 272, and vol. vi. p. 366 (English translation), and especially vol. v. p. 310, where the author speaks of 'the great injustice that was done to the advocates of the image-worship, by broadly accusing them of idolatry.' See also the paper by Mr. W. J. Birkbeck, *Guardian*, October 16, 1895, and the *Church Quarterly Review*, July 1896.

[2] Thus the whole of Western Christendom has for centuries neglected the rule of standing at worship, though it has the authority of the Council of Nicæa.

if a national Church is only bound to insist upon those doctrines which are definitely stated in the three Creeds and in the decisions of these Councils. We must reply that every part of the Church must uphold all the truth. The authority of a General Council depends upon its witness to the faith once delivered to the saints, not upon the numbers of persons who take part in it. And this witness of the Church to the divine truths which inspire it is to be received in all things. The Creeds and Councils themselves contain allusions to doctrines which they imply, though they do not always explain. Thus the Nicene Creed implies the truth of baptismal regeneration, and the Councils sanction certain writings of S. Cyril, which imply that we truly receive the body of Christ in the Eucharist. The necessity of the three orders of the ministry is also assumed.

We may finally notice that our appeal to antiquity is sometimes misinterpreted as an appeal to a dead voice and a treason to the living Church. But inasmuch as God is a living and eternal God, our appeal to antiquity is no treason. His truth remains a living truth, even if it was expressed more than a thousand years ago. In appealing to what was true in the past, we are appealing to what is true to-day. It is also often argued by Roman Catholics that their theory of Catholicism provides mankind with a far higher degree of minute certainty with regard to doctrine than our theory. We can only reply that we are satisfied with the degree of certainty which God has given to the Church. We believe that He has given us amply enough for the Christian life. And we should prefer to leave certain minor questions unanswered rather than run the risk of giving answers which may be false, and of anathematising the persons who dispute them.

§ 5. *The Authority of a National Church in Worship.*

The teaching of the Church of England is here as plain as it is wise. It is stated in Articles xx. and xxxiv., in the preface to the Prayer Book composed in A.D. 1661, and in the 30th Canon of A.D. 1603. From Article xx. we find that 'the Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies,' but may not 'ordain anything that is contrary to God's Word written.' Article xxxiv. tells us that ceremonies need not be 'in all places one, and utterly like,' and concludes by saying that 'every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.' Many rites have been ordained simply 'by man's authority,' such as the wearing of a chasuble, or the placing of salt on the lips of a child at baptism. Article xxxiv. distinctly means that the Church of each nation may change such ceremonies, while it distinctly affirms that to openly break the traditions and ceremonies which are not repugnant to God's Word and are ordained by common authority deserves open rebuke. The Article condemns by name this exercise of 'private judgment.' If a rite has been ordained directly by our Lord, or is commanded in the New Testament, the whole tenor of our formularies proves that it cannot be legitimately abolished. For instance, even the whole Church could not legitimately abolish baptism. One important rite commanded in the New Testament was dropped in England at the time of the Reformation, though neither condemned nor explicitly abolished. That rite was the unction of the sick. Its discontinuance was partly caused by previous misuse, and partly perhaps by a doubt as to whether the efficacy of the rite

remained after the withdrawal of the miraculous power which our Lord granted to His apostles. If it had been actually prohibited, such a prohibition would have been a very serious break of Catholic order. Its discontinuance cannot be regarded as really defensible, and the revival of it in some Anglican dioceses is now an accomplished and welcome fact.

The distinction between 'man's authority' and a higher authority is also expressed in the Prayer Book in the Preface 'of Ceremonies,' which says:—

'We think it convenient that every country should use such ceremonies as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's honour and glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living, without error or superstition; and that they should put away other things which from time to time they perceive to be most abused, as in man's ordinances it often chanceth diversely in divers countries.'

Similar, again, is the attitude of the 30th canon of 1603:—

'So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like churches in all things which they held and practised that . . . it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which do neither endamage the Church of God nor offend the minds of sober men; and only departed from them in those particular points, wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches which were their first founders.'

The use of the sign of the cross in baptism, and the use of candles on the altar, are instances which illustrate this principle. They are what the preface of A.D. 1661 calls 'a laudable practice of the Church of *England*,' or indeed of the whole Catholick Church of Christ.' The importance of any 'laudable practice of the whole

Catholick Church' mainly depends upon whether it is or is not a means of fulfilling a direct divine command or revealed desire of our Lord. It is not recorded that the baptism of infants was actually commanded by our Lord. But the whole Church adopted it as a means towards fulfilling Christ's desire for our salvation, and the Church of England tenaciously retained it. Again, it is not written that our Lord ordered the laying on of hands by a bishop in confirmation. But it agrees with our Lord's will that those who believe in Him should receive the Holy Spirit. And the revisers of our Prayer Book, in A.D. 1661, retained it in spite of Puritan opposition at the Savoy Conference. At that conference the Churchmen defended it on the ground of 'the Catholic usages of the primitive times.'[1] They appealed to 'Catholic consent'[2] by name. Lastly, we may note that the sacrament, as Article xxviii. says, 'was not by Christ's ordinance reserved' even for the sick. Yet even in the Puritan revision of A.D. 1552 the rubrics of the Communion of the Sick were so worded as to cover this primitive practice. And at the last revision of the Prayer Book in A.D. 1661 the practice was left uncondemned, though a new rubric was inserted at the end of the communion service to prevent the profane practice of carrying the sacrament out of church for common uses. Reservation is in fact necessary that the irrevocable privilege of communion may not be taken from the dying. And the whole Catholic Church has sanctioned it as a means of fulfilling the command of Christ, 'Do this in remembrance of Me.'

But there are other ceremonies, ancient and even apostolic, the revival of which is universally recognised as undesirable. We are sometimes asked by jesting

[1] E. Cardwell, *History of Conferences*, p. 359.
[2] *op. cit.* p. 338.

critics if we wish to restore to the congregation the ceremonial kiss of peace. And the fact that we acquiesce in its discontinuance, a discontinuance which in England is much older than the Reformation, is urged as a reason why we should acquiesce in a proposed discontinuance of incense. The parallel is not complete. The two ceremonies have this in common, that no Catholic regards either of them as universally binding. No one denies that a Eucharist is essentially complete with neither incense nor the kiss of peace. But the question of these and a few other customs really connects itself with the existence or non-existence of a Catholic spirit in the questioner. Catholic Christians discontinued the kiss of peace, not because they wished to strike at a 'laudable practice of the Catholick Church,' but because with the change of social manners such a custom would promote undesirable tendencies. To surrender the custom was therefore an act of loyalty to Catholicism. If the attack on lights and incense had no doctrinal meaning in it, and in no sense fostered separation within the universal Church, it is an attack which might conceivably be tolerated. There are certain things which are indifferent in themselves, and may be dispensed with at one period and retained at another. Thus the Church was led to refrain from using the term *Homo-ousios* in A.D. 269 for reasons which were quite compatible with her insistence on it in A.D. 325. But the recent attack on ceremonies has been closely associated with a false or shifting attitude towards the Church's sacramental system. And a surrender in such circumstances would be treachery to the whole Catholic Church. It is this principle which weighed with the revisers of our Prayer Book in A.D. 1604 and A.D. 1661. They were perfectly well aware that there is no binding necessity for the ring in marriage, for the sign of the cross in baptism, and for the use of the surplice. But they were equally

well aware that to surrender these things at that time meant a surrender of historical Christianity to the devices of Calvinism. They remembered that the Prayer Book is built on the belief that our Church is part of a greater whole. It bears on its title-page this inscription: 'The Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England.' That is an eloquent title. It puts the Church first, and the Church of England second. It claims authority to express Catholic worship in a form both Catholic and national. But it does not claim to put nationality before Catholicism, still less to put Calvinism before Catholicism. It is, therefore, simply disloyal to the Prayer Book to say that the authority of our own national Church is our only authority. For the Prayer Book assumes more than it states. For instance, it mentions fast days without saying that abstinence from flesh meat is required on those days. And yet it is perfectly well known that such abstinence was continued and enforced after the Reformation.

§ 6. *The Authority of a National Church in Government.*

In considering so wide a subject as the government of a national Church it is impossible for us to indicate more than a few crucial points. The end for which the government of any 'particular Church' exists is the end for which the Catholic Church exists, namely, the promotion of truth and holiness. Law and discipline are essential for this great end, and our Lord expressly gave to the Church the legislative power of binding (prohibiting) and loosing (allowing), and the disciplinary power of 'remitting' and 'retaining' sins.

So long as the Church was kept pure in morals by persistent persecution, the strongly social character of the discipline of the Church was maintained. Sin was recognised as a sin against the Church as well as against God, and the whole local Church witnessed the excommunication or the repentance of the offender. Under changed conditions of Church life the system of public penance broke down. But a wish for its restoration is strongly expressed in the Prayer Book, and the wish did not remain entirely on paper. The sense of spiritual brotherhood in every congregation ought to be at least strong enough to sanction the spiritual punishment of lay offenders, or to render impossible the action of a clergyman who officiates at the so-called marriage of a divorced adulterer.

The persons to whom authority in the Church is committed are primarily the bishops and the presbyters. To them the English ordination services expressly ascribe 'authority,' and in chapters iii. and iv. of the present volume we have considered the origin of this authority. Nor is there any reason why the supremacy of the crown, as explained in our Article xxxvii., should clash with the crown rights of our Lord Jesus Christ. Even Queen Elizabeth openly declared that she claimed no right to define the faith or change any ancient ceremony of the Church. That the royal supremacy has occasionally been misused, and that it was invoked, during the reign of Queen Victoria, to cover strictly illegal actions on the part of the English Government in dealing with Church questions, is notoriously true, but this is the abuse, and not the use of the royal supremacy. During the last hundred years many members of the Church of England have felt tempted to contrast this state of abuse with the independence of the civil power which exists in certain parts of the Roman communion. And some Roman Catholics have been wont to speak of the Church of

England as the creature of the State on account of its recognition of the royal supremacy. But it would be well to remember that the Church of England has only been unique in this respect since the French Revolution. Before that revolution the royal authority in Roman Catholic countries was much ampler than is ordinarily supposed, and in France it was almost exactly parallel with the royal authority in England. The temporalities and spiritualities of a bishop's see remained in the king's hands until the bishop had taken the oath of allegiance to the king, provincial and even diocesan synods could not be held without the king's leave, and processions and other ceremonies in public worship were sometimes introduced at the king's command.[1]

The declaration of Charles I. prefixed to our Articles leaves the duty of maintaining 'the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England' in each province to the convocation or synod of the province, the royal licence and approval being necessary for the ordinances of convocation. To refuse licence for the meeting of convocation, as has been done both in England and in France, may be an act of unwarrantable tyranny, but the principle here laid down contains nothing necessarily antagonistic to the good of the Church. Besides recognising the king's 'chief government of all estates,' each bishop has to promise obedience to his archbishop and each priest to his bishop. All such obedience is of course strictly limited by the principles of Catholic belief, worship, and discipline, otherwise we might have a pope in every province, and the unanimity of the bishops or of the priests would cease to be their own witness to the faith, and would become the passive and useless reflection of one domineering intellect.

[1] See *The Royal Supremacy over the Church of France at the Time of the Great Revolution*, 1789, published by the S.P.C.K. for the 'Church Historical Society.'

The extreme party in the Roman Church has tried to produce this false unanimity. The priest has to reflect the bishop, and the bishop has to reflect the pope. The bishop treats his clergy like the regiment of an army, of which he is the general, rather than as the members of a synod of which he is the president. Such a relation of the clergy to their 'father in God' can in no sense be justified even by the analogy of a relation between a son and a father. For though the fifth commandment bids us obey our parents, it is the duty of a child to disobey a father who employs his authority to discredit the law which gave him authority. Bishops and priests, precisely because they are ministers of the Catholic Church, can claim no possible right to be obeyed in any point where they outrule or set aside the consensus of the Catholic Church. And because they are also members of a 'particular Church,' they are bound by the rules of that Church. The fact that they have sometimes used their power to stamp out a Christian tradition among their people must be regretfully confessed. Thus in A.D. 1743 the bishop of the diocese succeeded in temporarily stopping weekly celebrations at the collegiate church of Manchester and substituted a monthly celebration, though there had previously been an average of seven hundred communicants every Sunday.[1] The writer is acquainted with another large town in the North of England where the common people have clung tenaciously to the practice of fasting communion, and are now ruled by a bishop who has openly expressed approval of communions made in the evening. All such regulations and approvals have obviously no more authority than a law made by the King without the consent of Parliament; and the clergy and laity have full right

[1] *Undercurrents of Church Life in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 138, edited by the Rev. T. T. Carter, M.A. (Longmans, 1899).

to disregard them. We may claim no licence whatever to do 'what we like,' but we must claim the liberty to obey the laws of the universal Church and of the national Church.

§ 7. *Catholicism and Roman Nationalism.*

What has been said above with regard to the nature of the Catholic Church necessarily implies a definite resistance towards certain doctrines of the Roman communion. We cannot lawfully supplement the common faith of the whole Catholic Church at our own caprice. We cannot teach as Catholic an opinion which is only in vogue in the Churches which are subject to Rome, or in those united only with Constantinople or only with Canterbury. For instance, there is the doctrine of indulgences as upheld by Pope Clement VI. and Pope Sixtus IV., the doctrine that the physical heart of Mary should receive the veneration called hyperdulia or extra-servitude, and the doctrine of her immaculate conception defined in 1854. We are not called upon absolutely to deny all such opinions; but we cannot teach as Catholic an article of mediæval or modern religion whose only certificate of Catholicity is that Papal endorsement which we repudiate.

The cause of the reunion of Christendom cannot ultimately be hindered by this protest. No punctilio should stand in the way of a righteous peace between England and Rome, nor need we be discouraged when we are ridiculed for making overtures to another community of God's people. For the sake of union we might fitly offer to surrender many things which have entwined themselves around our hearts. But we cannot give away truths which are not ours to give away. We cannot rightfully surrender such privileges as come from God, and are intended for the benefit of His

people, nor in the desire to escape from the dangers of English nationalism can we take refuge in that of another country. Before the Reformation Italian Popes were obtruding the interests of their own jurisdiction and their own nationalism at the expense of the jurisdiction of our own bishops and Church. And it was inevitable that sooner or later one side would have to win, and the other side would have to yield. The history of the Church of France vividly proves that if the English Reformation had not come when it did, it would either have come later, or the Church would have been tempted to surrender to the Pope as those French bishops surrendered in 1870, when, in spite of all their brave words against Papal infallibility, they took the train for France before the votes were taken.

Before the Reformation took place the just authority of the national Church was undermined. The Papacy had become chiefly a political power, and it pillaged the clergy in order to maintain that power. The machinery of the Church of England was not maintained in proper order, but was positively clogged by its relation with the Pope. The jurisdiction of the bishops was interfered with by appeals to Rome, and the organisation of dioceses was cut across by powerful monasteries which were exempt from episcopal control. Penitential discipline was undermined by the Pope's Jubilee indulgences, provincial synods were under the Pope's jurisdiction, and Archbishop Chichele in 1428 was bullied until he was willing to submit to the Pope's demand to dispose of English benefices. Practically the Pope's interferences were often slight, and sometimes beneficial. But they had wrapped the Church in legal swathing-bands. And thus the Tudor sovereigns were able to grip it in their arms and pinch it hard. Edward VI. was able to flout the religion of the English nation because the Papacy had already

made the English Church both less national and less Catholic than it might have been.[1]

The process which the Papacy was then developing, it has now completed by the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope as defined by the Vatican Council of 1870. It is well known that it was only defined after a keen struggle between the conflicting parties in the Roman communion, and that the definition was not desired by many bishops who represented the most vigorous and intellectual dioceses of that communion. The opposition can only be explained by the fact that the opposers believed that the Pope would be declared to possess an authority in faith and morals equivalent to the authority of a General Council of the Church. When the definition was at last given to the world this proved to be the case. In order to exclude the theory that the subsequent consent of the Church was necessary to invest the decisions of the Pope with complete authority, it was affirmed that his decisions are 'irreformable of themselves and not of the consent of the Church.' At first sight the dogma looks impressive in its simplicity. And experience has already shown that it has been of some practical use to Roman controversialists in gaining weak-minded converts to Roman Catholicism. While the more robust inquirers after truth appear to be usually repelled by the dogma, there is another class which finds a special attraction in the idea that all their doubts will be resolved if they repose their faith in one infallible person. They are comforted by the reflection that there is one mouth on earth which will never deceive them, and will always

[1] An excellent illustration was provided in 1902 at the time of the confirmation of Dr. Gore as Bishop of Worcester. It was shown that early in the fourteenth century the Popes had succeeded in robbing the Church of England of the right of controlling the confirmation of the election of her bishops. Henceforth the whole appointment of bishops usually rested with the King and the Pope, or with the Pope alone. *The Law Times*, March 1902.

give them the necessary information on matters of religion.

Nevertheless, the doctrine of 'the infallible teaching office' of the Pope labours under the double defect of being both a falsehood and a makeshift. It is false because it assumes an untrue interpretation of Scripture to be true, when it assumes that S. Peter and the Popes received the 'total plenitude' of power.[1] And it is a makeshift because it does not teach that the Pope receives any such divine assistance as enables him to dispense with employing the usual means of gaining information from the Church. The most extreme party in 1870 minimised and almost denied the need of the Church assisting the Pope.[2] But the Council did not accept that extravagant but convenient theory. And since Roman theologians grant that the Pope needs the help of the Church, we must go a step further, and ask if the Popes have always used this help in a manner which shows that they were providentially preserved from error. History gives us the answer. For there are instances in which 'special assistance' from God was either lacking or was grossly misused. More than one ancient Pope erred with regard to the Person of our Lord Himself, and there are other Papal pronouncements of which the orthodoxy is very doubtful.

[1] The doctrine of the 'infallible teaching office' of the Pope is sometimes recommended to us with the explanation that the Pope is only infallible when he acts as spokesman of the Church, and that his authority is therefore merely that of the Church. This is not an adequate explanation. The Vatican Council assumed the truth of the Ultramontane explanation of our Lord's words to S. Peter. According to this interpretation, S. Peter and each Pope received such a power that their judgments on faith and morals cannot be revised. The doctrine of Papal infallibility is only rightly understood when seen in connection with this unhistorical interpretation. It is worth noting that not one Father of the Church interprets *S. John* xxi. 15-17 in the modern Roman way.

[2] This party was represented by M. Louis Veuillot, who received special marks of favour from the Pope. Wilfrid Ward, *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, p. 258, and Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning*, vol. ii. p. 449.

And it is evident that some of these errors were stated in circumstances which would warrant the assertion that the Popes in question intended to speak *ex cathedra* as the official teachers of the Church. When they reject certain of these statements, Roman theologians show that they are forced to appeal to the Church against the Pope. Anglicans and Easterns merely do the same thing on a larger and more consistent scale.[1]

Sensible members of the Church of England do not object to Roman Catholicism because it is authoritative, but because its conception of authority is warped. They do not object to it because it is dogmatic, but because it has elevated mere opinions to the rank of doctrines. They do not object to it because it is Catholic, but because it is not Catholic enough. The result of its excessive centralisation is that it reflects some of the worst imperfections of English Christianity side by side with what is good and holy. We see in it what is local, narrow, and self-interested. Too frequently, while proclaiming itself as the Kingdom of God, it presents itself to us as the religion of the lost Papal States. The Roman Catholics around us have in prayers, in ceremonial, in vestments, in the choice of saintly models, often tried to leave behind what is indigenous in favour of what is foreign. In varying degrees the same temper is manifested in many different countries. The Ultramontane policy has everywhere tried to insert an Italian piety—often beautiful on its own soil—into non-Italian characters. It has therefore produced a type of creed and character which is partly artificial. It is a type which resembles that wonderful window at All Souls' College, Oxford, which outside is bad English Gothic, and inside is somehow Italian.

To this a reply is possible. The Roman Catholic

[1] See Appendix C.

might conceivably say: 'Every Catholic is a citizen of ecclesiastical Rome: as citizens of one local city they should have derived no spiritual ideas from any other locality. Christ meant infallibility to belong to each bishop of Rome in turn, and therefore every member of His Church must put on a new nature and must become Roman and must glory in no English or French excellence at all.' That is a possible line of argument, and though it is probably never explicitly stated,[1] it is the only defence that could be made for the usual policy of the Roman Church in dealing with Western Europe and the colonies of Western Europe. But we have this criticism to make. If this policy is right at all, it must be universally right. It must apply to the Greek and Syrian as much as to the Englishman and the Frenchman. It must be a principle to be maintained in all places and at all costs. But as a matter of fact the Roman authorities act on a contrary principle when it is convenient. Throughout a large part of Eastern Christendom Rome has founded Uniate communities who are allowed to worship in their national fashion, to retain a married clergy and communion in both kinds, and to dispense with the new 'devotions' which have been installed through Western Roman Catholicism. One instance may suffice to show how the Roman Church maintains the principle of nationality when converts can only be gained by adopting this policy. Antioch has possessed a bishop from apostolic times, and the see is held by an orthodox prelate of the rank of patriarch. But in connection with the patriarchate of Antioch the Roman Church supports a 'Greek-Melkite' patriarch of Antioch, who rules over converts from the orthodox Greek and Arabs, a Latin patriarch of Antioch who

[1] It is certainly suggested by Ultramontane teaching. According to this teaching 'the closest attention to the spirit of the local Church of Rome' is one of the chief marks of the true Catholic. See the statement in Wilfrid Ward, *op. cit.* p. 248.

resides in Rome, a Latin vicar-apostolic who promotes the interests of Romanism as we understand it here, a 'Syrian-Catholic' patriarch who presides over Syrian converts, a Maronite patriarch who presides over a large community of Syrians who accepted the supremacy of Rome in the twelfth century, and an 'Armenian-Catholic' archbishop of Aleppo under an 'Armenian-Catholic' patriarch of Cilicia.

This looks like a very full recognition of the truth that every nation may rightly glory in those characteristic signs of inspiration which God has bestowed upon it. But this is not all. In the East the Roman Church carries the recognition of diversity to such an extreme that the elementary rules of unity are sacrificed. In the East no Latin may receive the sacraments when administered after the Uniate rite, and no Uniate may receive them when administered after the Latin rite.[1] What, we ask, is the value of a fellowship which ceases at the table of our common Lord? And what becomes of the Roman doctrine that the unity of the Church is 'absolute and indivisible'? The fact is one which Englishmen should remember. For it was thought by some Roman Catholics that Pope Leo XIII. intended to try to attract members of the Church of England to recognise his claims by founding a Uniate Church in England. If such a Church had been erected, the members of it would probably have found themselves in the same position as the Uniates of the East. They would not only have been permanently separated from their former brethren, but also, perhaps, invidiously distinguished from their new patrons.

While, therefore, it is our duty to work and pray for the restoration of the visible unity of the Church, it is our duty to make the life of our own part subservient to the life of the whole Church, and not

[1] P. V. Vannutelli, O.P., *Sguardo Generale sulla Questione Religiosa d'Oriente*, p. 131 (Roma, 1889).

merely to the life of another part of the Church. The first way to effect this is to kindle a thorough dogmatic revival, not reactionary but remedial, on strictly Catholic lines. It must mould all outward practice. No private tastes and preferences, however amiable, must be allowed to obscure the main points at issue. Every practice or devotion which has not behind it the authority of the whole Church must be narrowly watched and, if necessary, checked. Otherwise controversy will be sharpened. And if controversy about non-essentials results in a Protestant victory, the victors will have the better chance of attacking what is essential. If, on the other hand, controversy about non-essentials results in a Protestant defeat, the victors may find that their victory is only a disaster in disguise. It would be absurd to spend time and labour in acquiring facilities for practices which would really prove hindrances in the way of the reunion of Catholic Christendom. Any seriously disproportionate view of truth must ultimately bring failure. Anything which is done from a mere love of reaction must do more harm than good. Anything that is simply personal, however saintly and however statesmanlike the personal leaders may be, must pass away. The principles remain.

What success those principles may attain in our own generation we need not inquire. We are not called to calculate what blessing may attend our own performances. Nor are we called to calculate what obloquy they may encounter. The world cannot say much more against us than it has said already. We do not suppose that an unadulterated Catholicism is popular. We have gladly resigned ourselves to witness and to work:

> Weave ordered lines into a pattern set,
> Not for our pleasure, and for us in vain.

And yet not ultimately in vain. For to labour on behalf of the union and the authority of the Church is to do the work of Christ.

CHAPTER VIII

PENITENCE IN THE EARLY CHURCH

> Brethren, in the Primitive Church there was a godly discipline, that, at the beginning of Lent, such persons as stood convicted of notorious sin were put to open penance, and punished in this world, that their souls might be saved in the day of the Lord.—*From the Commination in the Book of Common Prayer.*

The controversy regarding private confession and priestly absolution turns largely upon the interpretation of *S. Matthew* xviii. 18 and *S. John* xx. 22, 23. The first passage refers to 'binding' and 'loosing,' the second to 'remitting' and 'retaining' sins. The meaning of these words is not obscure; the difficulty arises as to the manner in which the action which they describe is to be executed. 'To bind and to loose' is a Jewish formula meaning to prohibit and to permit, and the Jewish rabbis claimed the power of acting as judges in questions of religious duty. Our Lord plainly meant that there was to be in His Church a judicial authority which will be ratified in heaven whenever it is in accordance with His will. The decisions of this authority will be remembered in heaven and disobedience to these decisions will be punished.

This right to execute ecclesiastical discipline is shown in the passage in *S. John* to have one very special application. It is the power to forgive or to retain sins. In the Old Testament this right seems to be

reserved to God in heaven (1 *Kings* viii. 39). After the incarnation it was exercised by our Lord Jesus Christ as *Man*, in virtue of the authority committed to Him by the Father (*S. Matthew* ix. 6). After the resurrection He committed the same authority to men who received His Spirit and were members of His Body. He breathed on these men. The breath is the continuance of something which proves the existence of life and power, and the breath was from the earliest times associated by the Hebrews with the Spirit. The breathing on the disciples was a plain symbol of the gift to the disciples of the Holy Spirit which was in Christ. They were given the right to forgive other men's sins, and the Spirit of God would aid them in distinguishing the repentant from the unrepentant sinner. Their decisions being thus regulated by the Holy Spirit would be separated from human arbitrariness.

But on whom was this right bestowed? Four views are possible: (i) that it was given to the apostles only; (ii) that it was given to the apostles and to those to whom the apostles delegated certain permanent duties in the apostles' ministry; (iii) that it was given directly to the whole Church collectively of the apostolic age alone; (iv) that it was given directly to the whole Church of all ages collectively. The first and the third views are excluded by general consent, for it is evidently improbable that our Lord intended to grant to one generation a method of reconciliation with God which He refused to all subsequent generations. The divine society never dies, and the promise must therefore have the character of perpetuity. Apart from any statement of His to the contrary, we are bound to assume that He still grants to the repentant sinner the same access to God which He granted in the days of S. John. The real controversy, therefore, lies between the Christians who maintain respectively the second or

the fourth of the above views, and we must carefully notice the precise difference between them.

It is sometimes said that the question controverted is this: 'Are the words "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them," etc., to be regarded as a commission granted unto the apostles and clergy to forgive the sins confessed to them, or as a commission to the whole Church conveying a summary of the message which the Church carries to mankind?' The first alternative is represented as Catholic, the second as Protestant. But the question, when put in the above form, contains a false antithesis. The clergy and the Church are not two separate entities, but members of one body, and a right granted to the clergy is granted to the whole Church, even though the right can only be exercised through the instrumentality of the clergy. Thus every voter in the United Kingdom exercises a voice in the government of the country, even though he cannot himself vote in the House of Commons. The real issue between the Catholic and the Protestant theory in this part of the problem[1] is whether the authority to forgive sins was given by our Lord *directly* to the apostles and to the Church through the apostles alone, or whether it was directly granted to the whole Church. We are thus brought back again to the fundamental difference between the Catholic and the Lutheran conception of the Church mentioned in Chapter III. We are reminded that the words 'body of Christ' do not furnish, and were not intended by S. Paul to furnish, a complete analogy. Christ the Head was personally perfect before this 'body' was formed, and He still retains inalienable functions of His own. He is not only our Head, but also our King. He chose His special representatives, and gave the Church no right to organise itself inde-

[1] The other points at issue are discussed later in this chapter.

pendently of Him and them. The Catholic theory assumes that in the body of Christ there is lodged the power of forgiving sins. But it also assumes that the action of this power was intended by our Lord to be brought to bear upon the world primarily through the apostles and those to whom they afterwards delegated certain powers. The Catholic Church has always claimed the authority to deal with sins, either by remitting or retaining them, but has never granted that it can be equally administered by every member of the Church.

The Catholic position is quite obviously taken by the Ordinal of the Church of England. It was composed by men who were very familiar with the later mediæval doctrine and practice, and had a luminous perception of what they were doing. From the ordination of priests they cut out the late mediæval references to the power of offering Masses, references which had become thickly encrusted with popular superstition, and are, at this day, very diversely interpreted by different Roman theologians. Whether it would not have been wiser to retain these phrases with a satisfactory explanation we need not now inquire. It is enough to say that they were cut out because the current interpretation attached to them was believed to be false. It is quite otherwise with the words affecting absolution. These words, like those referring to the sacrifices of Masses, were inserted into the form for the ordination of priests late in the Middle Ages. But Cranmer left them in the service in the persuasion that they would not suggest any false doctrine. It is impossible to read what he wrote in the two Prayer Books of Edward VI. with reference to absolution without seeing that the words in the Ordinal must have been deliberately meant to sanction private absolution and therefore to sanction private confession. It is equally plain that the peculiar position and solemnity attached

to these words in the ordination service are not compatible with the theory that they are a commission granted directly to the whole Church. This view is rendered impossible by the fact that the verse from *S. John* xx. is repeated to each priest separately, and is altered into the singular number as in the present Roman rite.[1]

It is occasionally supposed that the whole question can be settled in a moment by noticing the fact that our Lord is said to have uttered this promise to the 'disciples,' and that the word 'apostles' is not so much as mentioned in the chapter. It is perfectly true that in verses 19 and 20 'disciples' is the word employed. But it by no means follows that the word does not mean apostles. Any reader who consults a good Concordance will find that the word 'apostle' only occurs ten times in the four gospels, while the word 'disciple' occurs perpetually. Of the ten instances where the word 'apostle' occurs, six instances are in *S. Luke*. This is a valuable testimony to the primitive character of the Gospel tradition. As time went on, it became more common for Christians to refer to the Twelve by their official title 'apostle.' But the older form of the Synoptic tradition, and S. John, who had been personally an attendant of our Lord, retain the humbler term 'disciple.' *S. John* xiii. 5, 23; xviii. 1, 15 seem to afford us with perfectly clear instances of the word 'disciples' being used as signifying the Twelve apostles. Moreover *S. John* xx. 21 contains a hint to the same effect by the emphatic manner in which our Lord says to these disciples, 'As my Father hath *sent* Me, even so *send* I you.' Inasmuch as the word

[1] It is worth noting in this connection that a prominent advocate of the Protestant theory of absolution at the recent Fulham Conference said, 'Our Ordinal replaces the plural by the singular, which is unfortunate,' adding 'but perhaps the Ordinal was intended to refer to Church censures.'—*Confession and Absolution, Report of a Conference held at Fulham Palace*, p. 10 (Longmans, 1902).

'apostle' signifies a person sent with a definite official mission, it is much more likely that this verse and the next one were said to the Twelve apostles than that they were said to the disciples generally, or implied a gift given directly to the disciples generally. We may notice also the use of the word 'disciples' in *S. Matthew* x. 1; *S. Mark* viii. 27; *S. Luke* vi. 13. It is evident, from these and other passages, that the word 'disciple' was used both in a wider and in a more restricted sense. We therefore feel fully justified in interpreting *S. John* xx. 22, 23 as a commission given directly to the apostles rather than to the society. It is a special first-fruits of the gift of the Holy Spirit to mankind previous to and distinct from the general outpouring of the Spirit given to the apostles and other disciples at Pentecost.

Further, our Lord not only gives to the apostles the power of remitting sins, but also the power of retaining them. This power is different from that of simply not remitting, though the meaning of 'retain' is elucidated by its being used in opposition to 'remit.' The Greek word employed by S. John literally means 'take hold of,' or grasp in the hand. In *Rev.* ii. 1 it is used in the sense of 'control' or 'govern,' and in such verses as *S. Mark* vii. 8 it signifies 'cling to.' To retain a sin, therefore, means both to refuse to remit it and to grasp it in such a way as to be able to deal with it. It does not appear to signify as much as punishment, as it has been interpreted to mean. But it does imply the right to impose certain obligations as the conditions of forgiveness.

In concluding the discussion of *S. John* xx. 23, it must be added that the remission of sins can naturally be interpreted as far wider than the remission of the sins which Christians commit after their baptism. The promise has a wide and general scope, and the commission probably includes a direct reference to the

sins remitted in baptism. Thus S. Firmilian, about A.D. 250, in speaking of baptism says that 'the power of remitting sins was given to the apostles and to the Churches which the apostles, sent by Jesus Christ, established.'[1] S. Jerome says that sinners are redeemed by the blood of the Saviour either in baptism or 'in penitence which reproduces the grace of baptism.'[2]

The promise in *S. Matt.* xviii. 18 is in some sense preliminary to that in *S. John* xx. 23. The promise was first given in a more general form, and then in a more specific form with direct reference to human sins. Before the death and the resurrection of Him who 'was raised for our justification' it was natural that our Lord should not speak so directly of the remission of sins as He did after those great atoning events. In the same way we find that in *S. Luke* it is at the very end of the Gospel that our risen Lord speaks of the future preaching of the 'remission of sins.' Yet the whole passage in *S. Matthew* looks forward to the Church as it was to be. It is based on the strongly social character of the Christian life, a character which was first realised at Pentecost. The promise follows on the case of an offender, and our Lord has just prescribed that if a private representation proves ineffectual with the offender, an appeal is to be made to the Church. The Church is regarded as above the individual plaintiff and the individual defendant. The decision of the Church is to be final. If the offender disregards it, he is to be treated 'as a heathen man or a publican.' This does not mean that he is to be persecuted. Our Lord persecuted neither the Gentile nor the publican. He spoke of the Gentiles as His 'other sheep,' and said 'them also must I bring.' He visited Zacchaeus, the chief among the publicans.

[1] *Epist. ad Cyprian.* § 16.

[2] *Dialog. c. Pelag.* l. i. 33. Cf. also the quotations from S. Ambrose and S. Cyril below, p. 257.

But the member of the Church who is treated as a heathen and as a publican is to be regarded as one who, by his own action, has made himself unfit for the corporate life of the Church. He can no longer be entrusted with her secrets or share her worship. He is to be treated as one who is cut off from that divine life which makes the saints, like the sacraments, an extension of the Incarnation.

The 'binding' and 'loosing' in *S. Matt.* xviii. 18 therefore signify, as the rabbinic usage suggests, the prohibition or allowing of certain actions which are worthy or unworthy of a member of the Church. The context does not make it absolutely certain whether the promise is made by our Lord directly to the Twelve only or directly to the whole Church. The passage distinctly emphasises the corporate character of the Church, and therefore we may reasonably suppose that our Lord is here speaking of the Church's corporate consciousness. But the Church as an organised body must express her consciousness through her official organs, and the preceding verse distinctly suggests that the act is to be an official and legislative act. 'Binding' and 'loosing' may in a measure be the action of every member of the Church who decides a moral question under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. We should recognise a compulsory power in a moral truth even when it is uttered by a little child. But if we are to connect verses 17 and 18 together it seems necessary to hold that the decisions here mentioned are decisions as uttered by the ministry.

This interpretation is corroborated by the other declaration in which 'binding' and 'loosing' are mentioned, and where our Lord seems to speak about the conditions of entrance into the Church, rather than the discipline to be maintained within it.

It is the commission given to S. Peter in *S. Matt.* xvi. 19, the commission to bind and to loose, combined

with the gift of the mystical keys. We might have supposed that our Lord, after mentioning the keys, would have spoken of shutting and opening. But He does not, He passes on to the familiar metaphor of binding and loosing, the meaning being practically identical with that of shutting and opening. It is certainly extremely difficult to hold that this verse, which promises to S. Peter a definite reward for a definite act of faith, is a promise which is equally given to every disciple. It is made distinctly to S. Peter as the representative office-bearer of the Church. And if our Lord had meant the promise to apply equally to all members of the Church, we may reverently suppose that He would have said, 'Upon this rock I will build my Church. . . . I will give unto *it* the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever *it* shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever *it* shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' But our Lord said otherwise.

We may now proceed to show how the Church availed herself of the power which our Lord granted to the Apostles.

What did the early Church mean by her penitential system? Three explanations of her meaning are now current. (*a*) The first and Catholic theory is that the absolving and retaining of sins was understood to carry with it a corresponding divine action. Absolute security was not given against mistakes being made by the Church in the exercise of her powers, and the verdict of the Church was not necessarily identical with the final verdict of God. Nevertheless the action of the Church was understood to rest on divine authority and not on human authority, and exclusion from the Church was regarded as exclusion from the covenant of God, though not always as exclusion from His possible mercy. (*b*) The second theory is that the primitive Church did not believe that she possessed the power of

absolving sins, and that the reconciliation with the Church, which was granted at the expiration of the time of penance, did not affect the relation of the sinner to God himself. God was believed to have reserved for Himself the right of absolving sin, and the Church could merely absolve the sinner from her own censures and pray for the sinner's forgiveness. (*c*) The third theory is that there existed two different conceptions of the Church and her absolutions. The first, which is said to have lasted until the third century, was that the Church is the society of saved and elect saints, and that the Church did not re-admit those Christians who had fallen into gross sin, because by so doing she would assure them of salvation and thereby anticipate the judgment of God. Consequently she only re-admitted those 'who had been excluded in cases where their offences had not been committed against God himself, but had consisted in transgressing the commandments of the Church, that is, in venial sins.'[1] It is said that this conception of the Church was superseded by a theory which assumed that the Church includes both saved and unsaved persons. She was no longer the 'sure communion of the saved,' but an institution which merely guaranteed to her members the means of grace, and the *possibility* of redemption, and trained persons for salvation. Consequently, the Church would anticipate the judgment of God if she excluded any one who did not give her up of his own accord. She would not prejudge his ultimate fate by re-admitting him. Therefore she bestows forgiveness upon great sinners, but only reconciles them with herself. In other words, the Church, while she believed herself to be simply a community of the saved, would not forgive gross sins lest she should seem to assure the sinner of certain salvation. And the Church, when she believed herself to be merely able to offer the

[1] Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. ii. p. 113 (English trans.).

possibility of salvation, was willing to forgive gross sins on the assumption that she could not offer the sinner more than this possibility.

The second and the third theories have much in common, for they both assume a wide difference between the forgiveness of the Church and the forgiveness of God, and between sins committed against the Church and sins committed against God. The second theory we will attempt to answer in answering the third, which wears a plausible historical air and has been advanced by one of the most famous Protestant theologians of the present day. The first point that we notice in it is that (i) it assumes a very close similarity between the primitive conception of the Church and the idea held by the more puritan sects of modern times. The notion of a pure Church consisting only of the saved, and the notion of a more secularised Church laying stress upon 'the gifts with which she is endowed' and containing both the saved and the unsaved, are strangely parallel with the ideas which the members of some modern sects hold of their sect when contrasted with the existing Church. This fact is itself rather suspicious, but it becomes more suspicious when the author goes on to say that the third-century conceptions of the Church, as found in S. Cyprian, 'require priests and more especially an episcopate,' as though the earliest conception of the Church had not required them. Seeing that S. Ignatius, more than a hundred years earlier than S. Cyprian, regards both priests and an episcopate as absolutely essential, the above remark seems to betray an astonishing forgetfulness in so learned a writer. For in view of S. Ignatius, not to mention other writers, this sharp distinction between an earlier and a later conception of the Church must be obliterated. The same fact holds good with regard to (ii) our author's distinction between different kinds of sin. To prove

his theory, it was at least important to show what distinction the early Church drew between sins committed against God and sins committed against herself. But he has not only omitted to do so, but has naïvely stated that 'the distinction of sins committed against God himself, as we find it in Tertullian, Cyprian, and other Fathers, remains involved in an obscurity that I cannot clear up.'[1]

The problems which arise concerning the nature of the sins for which penance was done, and the nature of the forgiveness which was extended to them, are not due to an imagined change in the conception of the character of the Church. They are simply due to the fact that the Church varied her policy with regard to certain heinous sins. During a period of which the limits cannot be precisely fixed, but which covered much of the latter half of the second century and some years of the third, the Church refused to grant absolution for adultery, murder, and idolatry. Sometimes this list of sins was extended, and it seems that the rule which held good in the case of adultery always applied to kindred sins against 'the temple of God.' A person who committed one of these deadly sins was not told that he was lost and that he had no chance of God's forgiveness. If he repented, he was told to submit to a public *exhomologesis*, a word which literally means confession, but which had a technical meaning which included 'a discipline of prostration and humiliation.'[2] After the completion of this exhomologesis he was bidden to hope for God's pardon, but he was not received into the communion of the Church. It will be necessary for us to show how this severe rule became gradually mitigated. But it is important to state beforehand that the modification of the rule was not a declension from primitive piety.

[1] Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. ii. p. 113.
[2] Tertullian, *De Pœnitent.* ix. 3.

The most primitive facts which we know concerning Church discipline do not show the rigorism which marked the later years of the second century. The case of the incestuous man mentioned in S. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians shows an instance of exclusion from the communion of the Church for a sin of the grossest description. It nevertheless seems to be true that the offender on repenting of his sin was re-admitted to the privileges of a Christian. A well-known story concerning S. John, preserved by Clement of Alexandria and bearing every mark of genuineness, shows us how the apostle brought back to the Church a lapsed communicant who had joined a band of brigands and who was guilty of theft and murder.[1] There is no doubt that about A.D. 200 such an one would not have been restored to the Church, at least in certain districts, but here he is brought back as a lost sheep by the Good Shepherd. And the messages given in *Rev.* ii. and iii. to the Churches of Asia are reasonably interpreted as implying the possibility of obtaining remission of the worst sins. In particular, the Church of Pergamos is exhorted to 'repent' because certain of her members have been guilty of idolatry and fornication. It might be urged that this only means that the innocent are to repent of acting tolerantly towards those guilty of such sins. But *Rev.* ii. 20, 21 mentions the case of a prophetess guilty of these sins, who nevertheless received 'space to repent.'

In the *Shepherd* of Hermas, A.D. 140, we see that a wave of rigorism has passed over the Church, and Hermas strives to turn it back. He announces the pardon of gross sins on the conditions that there is a heart-felt repentance, and that the opportunity is granted to the sinner *once* only. He seems to represent this as a special mercy which is granted in view

[1] *Quis Dives* xlii.

of the approaching end of the world. He announces a day of pardon on which 'all will be purified from their former sins.' By representing the remission as exceptional, Hermas skilfully preserves himself from compromising his high moral tone, and at the same time bears witness to the power of the rigorist theory. He offers pardon to all sinners. Evil is represented by beautiful women clothed in black raiment, and to repudiate the desire of these women and to be converted is sufficient. He includes adultery among the sins that can be forgiven,[1] and even apostasy, provided the apostate has not denied the Lord from the heart.[2] The work of Hermas attained great popularity, and about 170 Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, granted reconciliation to such offenders as Hermas had in view.[3] But there are distinct traces of the rigorist practice holding its ground, or gaining ground, even in some of the quarters where the *Shepherd* was read and valued. At Rome, where the *Shepherd* was written, the invective of Tertullian against Callistus seems to prove conclusively that at the end of the second century idolatry, murder and adultery received no absolution, for Tertullian reproaches Callistus with novelty and inconsistency in making an exception in favour of adultery, while leaving idolatry and murder unforgiven.[4] At Alexandria, Clement, writing about A.D. 190, identifies himself with the teaching of Hermas.[5] But his successor Origen, about A.D. 230, in commenting on *S. John* xx. 23, distinctly maintains that idolatry, adultery, and fornication cannot be remitted.[6]

It was in Origen's own lifetime, and almost certainly with Origen's full knowledge, that a momentous con-

[1] 4 *Mand.* i.
[2] 9 *Sim.* xxvi.
[3] Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. 23.
[4] *De Pudicit.* v. 15.
[5] *Quis Dives* xlii. and *Strom.* II. xiii.
[6] *De Oratione*, xxviii. But see *Hom. in Lev.* xv. 2.

troversy arose at Rome about the granting of absolution to persons who had broken the seventh commandment. About A.D. 220 Callistus, Bishop of Rome, decided to receive them back to full communion with the Church. He appealed to the teaching of more than one passage in the New Testament, but he was strongly opposed by Tertullian and by Hippolytus, two of the ablest writers of the time. Tertullian had by that time adopted the Montanist heresy; Hippolytus, though he died in communion with the Church of Rome, was for some time separated from it. Tertullian's statements on the subject are as interesting as they are vigorous. They show how completely an extraordinarily acute and earnest Christian could become infatuated with a narrow and bitter fanaticism. In his treatise *De Pœnitentia*, written about 204, while the author was still a Catholic, he insists on the necessity of a moral change in the converts who receive Baptism, rebuking those catechumens who, knowing that all sins are forgiven at Baptism, commit fresh sins in the interval before receiving that sacrament. He says that the repentance for sins which precedes Baptism must be retained after Baptism. Yet, in spite of a natural hesitation, he tells the catechumens that there is a 'second penitence, which may open to those who knock.'[1] The 'confession of faults' will remove guilt, like the cry of the prodigal son. This confession must be shown outwardly in the process of exhomologesis, and Tertullian's graphic touches put before us the picture of the primitive penitent, unwashed, fasting, clothed in sackcloth, and kneeling before the presbyters, martyrs, and brethren to beg for their prayers. Just as Baptism required a more thorough preparation than in the times when S. Philip and S. Peter baptized men immediately after their conversion, so 'the second penitence' became an exacting and drastic process. The increasing popularity of the Church rendered some-

[1] *De Pœnitent.* vii. 9-10.

thing of the kind necessary, if the holiness of the Church was to be preserved. Yet the shame of making one's sin known and the severity of the punishment caused the majority of wrongdoers to postpone the exhomologesis indefinitely.[1] Some milder method was needed.

For the severity of the process can only be fully understood when we realise that about A.D. 200 in the case of the most heinous sins the permission to do penance did not imply that the penitent would be restored to all his Church privileges, and the punishment was not temporary but lifelong.[2] It was regarded as efficacious, inasmuch as the penitent had gained the prayers of the Church, and the prayers of the Church implied the prayers of Christ, and 'That is ever easily gained, which the Son demands.'[3] But though in the case of a true repentance the forgiveness of God was regarded as certain by virtue of the Church associating herself with the sinner, the Church did not usually restore the penitent to communion. In his Montanist treatise *De Pudicitia*, which is a sarcastic manifesto against Callistus, Tertullian takes another line from that in his *De Pœnitentia*. The public penitence is still retained for the heinous sins which he now calls 'irremissibilia.' The adulterer, murderer, and renegade are still begging for compassion, but their sin is regarded by the austere writer as unpardonable. He denies that Christ prays for them.[4] He attacks Callistus on two grounds:—first, for restoring the adulterer and the fornicator to the communion of the Church after a temporary punishment; and, secondly, for personally claiming to remit sins. So he mocks at the 'good

[1] *De Pœnitent.* x. 1.

[2] Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. 13. § 5. This is also possibly implied in *De Pudicit.* xviii. 14, where Tertullian distinguishes between 'temporal' and 'perpetual severity.'

[3] *De Pœnitent.* x. 5-7.

[4] *op. cit.* xix. 25. Yet in iii. 5-6, Tertullian inconsistently speaks of the sinner as sowing in God a germ of peace.

pastor and blessed pope' for bringing the adulterer into the Church, 'to provoke everybody's tears,' and alludes with indignation to the custom of feeding the 'second penitence sheep' from a chalice engraved with the Good Shepherd and His rescued burden.[1]

But Callistus, though he never won such fame for his Latin as Tertullian won, had more logic. For if the Church had the right to remit some sins, she had the right to remit others. And Tertullian never denied that the Church can remit some sins. A Montanist prophet had declared that the Church can, and Tertullian admitted it fully.[2] Moreover, he admitted that 'lighter offences' can obtain 'pardon from the bishop,'[3] as he is a disciplinary officer. The greater sins could only be forgiven by a 'spiritual man,' *i.e.* by an apostle or by a 'prophet,' the Montanist prophets having the right to correct even the regulations of the apostles. This innovation therefore of Callistus consisted not in his claiming the power to remit sins, but in his claiming power to remit sins of a particular class. And his crime in the eyes of the now heretical Tertullian was that he was guilty of an innovation which could only have been excusable in one of the new 'prophets' on whom he had pinned his faith.[4] It is worth noting that Hippolytus, in spite of his opposition to Callistus, takes a higher view of the episcopal office than Tertullian the Montanist. And the Canons of Hippolytus, which either show the use of Rome early in the third century, or came from Alexandria and

[1] *De Pudicit.* vii. 1 and x., where Tertullian alludes to the work of Hermas as 'the Scripture of the Shepherd, which alone loves adulterers.'

[2] *De Pudicit.* xxi. 7; 17.

[3] *De Pudicit.* xviii. 17.

[4] *De Pudicit.* xxi. Tertullian's language does not seem strictly consistent. But he grants that an apostle or a prophet had the power to forgive, and says, 'I hear the Paraclete speaking in the new prophets, and saying, "The Church can forgive sin, but I will not do it, lest they commit other sins."'

had the approval of Hippolytus, distinctly mention 'the power of remitting sins' as belonging to the episcopal office.[1] Throughout this controversy we can find no trace of any such thing as a distinction between sins committed against God and sins committed against the Church, though we do find that Tertullian in the *De Pudicitia* draws a distinction between sins committed against God and sins committed by one Christian against another personally. In speaking of the 'lighter offences,' for which pardon can be obtained 'from the bishop,' Tertullian states that the intercession of Christ is required for them, and he mentions sins such as cursing, unintentional blasphemy, and taking part in some idolatrous ceremony. They are obviously offences committed against God.[2] And it is equally obvious that adultery between two Christians, a most heinous offence against God, is also an offence against the Church. Inasmuch as sin is the breaking of those laws which God has made for human life, a sin against the society of men which God has endowed as His Church is a sin against God Himself.

Callistus established the tradition of S. Paul, Hermas, and Dionysius of Corinth, that even the adulterer and fornicator might be restored to communion. He did not raise the question whether such a person might be restored after a second offence.

It still remained to be decided whether a renegade who had denied Christ in the time of persecution might be restored. The answer was given after the frightful sufferings of the Church in the middle of the third century.

In A.D. 249 the Emperor Decius ordered that all the subjects of the Empire should sacrifice to the gods or be imprisoned and tortured. A systematic and brutal persecution began. Some Christians suffered death.

[1] *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Band vi. 1891, p. 46.
[2] *De Pudicit.* vii. 15; xix. 22-24.

Some were imprisoned but finally released, and were afterwards known by their admiring fellow-Christians as *confessors* or *martyrs*. Some turned renegade and sacrificed, and won the name of *lapsi*. Some did not sacrifice, but with the connivance of the police procured certificates to the effect that they had done so, and won the name of *libellatici* or ticket-holders. In two years' time the Church was in a state of disciplinary chaos. There were two chief centres of disturbance, the great bishopric of Carthage, ruled by S. Cyprian, and Rome, then under S. Cornelius, whose pathetically simple epitaph was a few years ago discovered and pieced together. At Carthage, in cases of sins less than apostasy, the custom had been for sinners to do penance for a 'fitting time,' to come to the exhomologesis 'according to the order of discipline' and 'receive the right to communicate by the laying on of hands of the bishop and clergy.'[1] The number of the lapsed was enormous, and Cyprian felt that he was quite justified in absolving all the penitent under stringent conditions. Permission was given to absolve penitents on their deathbed, even if they had sacrificed; the cases of the *libellatici* were to be examined separately, and a time of penance appointed for each offender; those who refused to do penance and did not show a heart-felt sorrow were given no hope of reconciliation. The clergy who had apostatised were deposed from their functions, but were given the opportunity of being reconciled to the Church in the same fashion as the laity.

Such were the decisions of the Council of Carthage in 251. In the meantime S. Cyprian had settled another matter of pressing importance. Certain of the martyrs had recklessly given to the renegades notes

[1] Cyprian, *Epist.* xvi. 2. It is well worth noticing that Cyprian says that some of his predecessors in Africa had granted 'peace' to penitent adulterers.—*Epist.* lv. 21.

demanding that they should be re-admitted to communion, and in virtue of these notes certain priests had received these renegades before they submitted to the exhomologesis and laying on of hands. Great privileges had been allowed to the martyrs in this respect by Callistus at Rome, and probably by Irenaeus at Lyons, and some modern writers have held that the martyrs were actually allowed to absolve penitents. The whole question of the authority attributed to the martyrs is extremely difficult, and needs the most careful discrimination. It seems from Eusebius, not that the martyrs at Lyons actually absolved from sin, but that they were regarded like S. Stephen as having an availing power with God in their intercession for sinners.[1] On account of this intercession and of their generous admission of the fallen into their own circle, it is probable that the penitents were afterwards exempted from the exhomologesis. Origen attributes a special power to the intercession of the martyrs who have been slain, for he describes the martyrs now standing at the altar in heaven as 'spotless priests' offering themselves to God, and says 'they minister to those who pray the remission of sins.'[2] And that some such power was accredited at Alexandria to living martyrs is shown by the fact that later in the third century Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, explained to Fabius of Antioch the difficulty in which he found himself in consequence of some martyrs, who were now with Christ, having admitted certain of the lapsed to the holy communion on their own authority.[3] His statement proves that he did not regard himself as rigorously bound by the action of the martyrs, but it shows no indignation at it. He assumes that their decision is subject to his own control.

[1] *H. E.* v. 2. The letter says 'they loosed all men, they bound no one,' but the context shows that the 'loosing' is forgiving and praying for the murderers, and praying for the lapsed.

[2] *Exhort. ad mart.* 30.

[3] Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 42.

This is also the case with Callistus. Tertullian says to him, 'Thou now pourest out this power on thy martyrs,' and mentions the pardon of adulterers and fornicators as being sought from the martyrs in prison.[1] Unfortunately our knowledge is very meagre, but such information as Tertullian gives suggests that Callistus allowed certain martyrs to act as his delegates in bestowing absolution, and that this was a practice hitherto unknown at Rome. S. Cyprian defined the authority of the martyrs more exactly. He complained with justice of the wholesale recommendations which martyrs had given to renegades, and insisted upon their only giving recommendations based on personal knowledge and upon the penitents submitting to the ordinary discipline. Though he asserts that he believes that Christ will pardon the lapsed at the entreaty of His martyrs, he recognises no right in the martyrs to give 'the peace' of the Church. The Roman Church which co-operated with Cyprian ignored such a prerogative, a fact which shows that it had not committed itself to the practice which Tertullian attributes to Callistus.[2]

One modification of the priestly power of absolving which Cyprian made must also be mentioned. If a renegade who has received a note from the martyrs is ill, a priest may receive his exhomologesis, and if he is in danger of death, and a priest cannot be found, a *deacon* may receive it and lay hands upon him.[3] In spite of various modern explanations, we believe that Morinus was right in thinking that Cyprian meant to delegate the power of absolving to such deacons in these most exceptional circumstances. In the primitive Church the bishop was held to be the proper minister of the Eucharist, of Baptism, and of absolution, though he gave to his priests the power of administering them.

[1] *De Pudicit.* xxii. [2] Cyprian, *Epist.* xxi. 2; xxx. 4.
[3] *Epist.* xviii. 1.

Absolution was certainly ordinarily granted by the bishop and not by the priest, and Cyprian, recognising that the right had been extended from the bishop to the priest, thought that it was justifiable to extend it also to the deacon. In this respect he seems to have departed from the previous tradition of the Church, and his action did not obtain subsequent support.

The attitude of the Church at Rome at this time of tribulation need not detain us long, though the result of it was momentous. At Rome, while the see was vacant after the death of S. Fabian, the lapsed, when in danger of death, were allowed to confess, and were given holy communion, but they received no laying on of hands, and their judgment was left in the hands of God.[1] After the accession of Cornelius in 251, the Roman Church adopted the decisions of the Council of Carthage. S. Cyprian, in words which scarcely harmonise with the relations between a modern Latin bishop and his pope, says, 'We wrote to Cornelius our colleague, who himself, with very many fellow-bishops, after holding a Council, agreed with us in the same decision.'[2] The decision caused the organisation of the sect of Novatians, who remained a very powerful body for the next two hundred years. Thoroughly orthodox on all points except penance, the Novatians excited the surprise of the Catholics for persisting in their schism. According to Socrates, the Emperor Constantine in 325 urged one of their principal bishops to unite with the Church, and on his refusal, told him to take a ladder and go up to heaven by himself. The history of their doctrine is highly interesting, as illustrating the manner in which a schism grows. It began with the personal opposition of Novatian, a rigorist priest of Rome, to the election of Cornelius, and a coalition between Novatian and Novatus, a Cartha-

[1] Cyprian, *Epist.* xxx. 8. [2] *Epist.* lv. 6.

ginian who opposed S. Cyprian. Then their party opposed Cornelius with regard to the reception of the lapsed, refusing to 'communicate with *idolators*.' It is plain, from Cyprian's words, that Novatian did not refuse reconciliation to repentant *adulterers*.[1] But the Novatians afterwards extended the same rule to all those sins which they reckoned as deadly sins.[2] And there is full evidence to prove that in the fourth and fifth centuries they defended their practice by asserting that 'the Church cannot forgive mortal sin.'[3] This development is an excellent instance of the way in which a heresy is invented to make an excuse for nonconformity.

The emphatic manner in which the Church repudiated Novatianism leads us to inquire into two questions of very grave theological importance connected with the penitential system of the early Church. The first question is, was the public penance sacramental or non-sacramental? The second question is whether any private tribunal like the modern confessional existed side by side with the public penance? The second question is a natural outcome of the first. For if the public penance was not sacramental, and there existed no private tribunal which the repentant sinner could approach, it is plain that the sacrament of penance was unknown to the primitive Church.

In dealing with these two questions, it is almost inevitable that writers, both Catholic and Protestant, should unconsciously import some ideas of modern or mediæval origin into their interpretation of the ancient documents. By so doing they have obtained very astonishing results, the essence which they have extracted from antiquity having been so blended with a foreign matter as to lose its characteristic properties. In the first place, we must remember that for some

[1] *Epist.* lv. 26, 27. [2] Socrates, *H. E.* i. 10.
[3] Pacian, *Epist.* i. 6; iii. 4; Augustine, *De Agone Christiano*, 33.

centuries the name of sacrament, when not simply equivalent to a mystery of religion, was only applied to Baptism and the Eucharist, or to Baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist, and that Penance was not, therefore, called a sacrament. And in Western Europe, after the name sacrament was applied to Penance as practised at that time, viz. the later Middle Ages, it was extremely difficult to bring the public penance of earlier times under the usual definitions of a sacrament. For it was usually held that it was necessary, for the existence of a sacrament, that it should have *matter* and *form*. S. Thomas Aquinas laid down the theory that the words and acts of the penitent, his contrition, his confession, and his deeds of reparation,[1] were the *matter* of the sacrament, and that the *form* consisted in the formula of absolution. Just as in baptism it is necessary for the remission of sins that there should not only be the words of the inspired formula but also water to which these words give a sacramental virtue, so in penance the remission of sins required not only the power of the keys expressed in the words of absolution, but also the actions of the penitent. The remission of sins was the effect of the sacrament by virtue of these two elements. The importance of this theory was great, for it appeared to solve a question which the schoolmen had been discussing for a hundred and fifty years. During that period some had taught that contrition and absolution, the chief elements of the sacrament, acted successively and that each produced different effects. But from henceforth everything, as in the other sacraments, became contracted into the narrowest space of time. The more widely the theory was accepted, the more difficult did it become to regard as sacramental a process which had originally extended over weeks or even years.

Yet the primitive public penance was sacramental,

[1] IV. *Sent.* dist. xvi. q.1 a.1 sol. 2; *Summa*, III. p. 1, lxxxiv. a. 3.

although S. Augustine and S. Ambrose would have been greatly perplexed if they had been asked what was the 'matter' or the 'form' of penitence. The grace of God was applied to the soul of the repentant sinner in such a way as to give him the remission of sins. The outward form or forms through which this grace was conveyed were determined by the Church, and though they could not claim to be ordained in their entirety by our Lord, these forms enveloped the essential fact which He instituted, namely, remission through an external human authority. The comparison which the Fathers draw between Baptism and penitence makes it perfectly plain that this authoritative forgiveness was regarded as what we now describe as sacramental and efficacious. It is impossible to conceive that such phrases as 'the second repentance,' 'the second plank,' should have been employed unless penitence was understood to imply a full remission of sins like Baptism. But we have not only phrases but explicit statements, of which a few may here be quoted. S. Ambrose says: 'In Baptism there is a remission of all sins; what difference is there whether by penitence or by the laver, the priests vindicate this right which has been given to them?'[1] S. Augustine says: 'If ministers are lacking, what misfortune attends those who depart from this world either not regenerate or bound.'[2] S. Cyril of Alexandria, in commenting on *S. John* xx. 22, says: 'Those who carry the Spirit remit sins or retain them in two ways, according to my opinion: for they either call men to Baptism . . . or in another way they remit and retain sins, either by reprimanding the sons of the Church when they sin, or by pardoning the penitent.'[3] So S. Pacian, in combating the Novatians, says: 'You say that God alone can remit sins. That is true, but what He does

[1] *De Pœnitent.* l. i. c. vii.
[2] *Epist.* ccxxviii. *ad Honoratum* 8.
[3] *In Joann. Evangel.* l. xii.

through His priests is His own power.'[1] Aphraates and Ephraim, the great Syrians of the fourth century, teach the same.

Against such texts as these, it is useless to quote passages in the Fathers which say that God only can remit sins, or to quote the words of S. Cyprian which imply that it will not always be possible for God to ratify the remission administered by the priests.[2] For the strictest Catholic doctrine always supposes that the bishop or priest is merely the minister of a grace which comes from God only, and assumes that the penitent is not forgiven unless he fulfils certain conditions. It is equally useless to point to the fact that the forms of absolution were, for several centuries, generally couched in the form of a prayer, and that the form '*I* absolve thee' was rarely used.[3] We have to inquire what idea was attached to such prayers. A prayer may either be a simple prayer offered in view of a particular favour, or it may be a prayer which asks a certain favour in virtue of a definite authority conceded by Him to whom the prayer is addressed. The deprecative forms of absolution are of the latter kind. S. Cyprian probably reconciled penitents by a deprecative form, but he distinguishes between what 'the martyrs have asked' and 'the priests have performed.'[4] S. Leo attributes the power of absolving to the 'priestly supplication' offered over the penitent, saying, 'It is highly useful and necessary that the guilty should be freed before the last day by the priestly supplication.'[5] The prayers and the laying on of the hand were

[1] *Epist.* I. *ad Sempronian.* 6. *P. L.* t. xiii, col. 1057.

[2] *De Lapsis*, xxix. The passage evidently means that when the sinner is no longer 'in the world' and his confession cannot be made, remission will be impossible.

[3] We cannot say that it was never used, for Tertullian attacks Callistus for saying *Ego dimitto* (*De Pudicit.* i.).

[4] *De Lapsis*, xxxvi.

[5] *Epist. ad Theodor. Forojul. P. L.* t. liv. col. 1011-1013.

believed by the early Christians to carry with them a corresponding action on the part of God.[1]

In the Middle Ages some theologians began to assert that the absolution of the Church was merely *declarative*, simply assuring the sinner of God's pardon or telling the Church that he was pardoned. This theory, which is perhaps implied in Anselm, is not stated earlier than Peter Lombard,[2] who died A.D. 1160, and his contemporary Pope Alexander III. A kindred theory, which has found much favour with some modern Protestants, teaches that the absolution of the Church remits neither sins nor their punishment so far as the sins are considered as done against God, but only signifies their remission in the eyes of the Church. This doctrine was not clearly taught until the time of Gabriel Biel, who died in 1495, and even he held that absolution remits part of a man's temporal punishment and increases sanctifying grace.[3]

The question as to whether the penitential system of the primitive Church admitted private or auricular confession must be answered in the affirmative. Although the punishment or discipline of great offenders was a public process, there are clear indications that lesser sins were privately confessed where no public discipline was required, and there are also clear indications that the public discipline was sometimes or always attended by a private confession which was regarded as part of the penitential process. Slight sins were confessed openly and mutually in some Christian congregations before the Eucharist about A.D. 100, as is shown in the *Didaché*. The same practice is perhaps alluded to in *S. James* v. 16 and in *S. John* i. 9. There were inevitable difficulties in

[1] The English Homily 'Of Common Prayer and Sacraments,' speaks of the 'visible sign' of absolution as being 'imposition of hands.'—*Homilies*, p. 316 (Oxford, 1840).

[2] IV. *Sent.* dist. xviii.

[3] IV. *Sent.* dist. xviii.

such a practice, and it passed away. But the confession of such sins was still encouraged. Thus we have seen that Tertullian speaks of 'pardon from the bishop' being obtained for such sins. Origen also apparently assumes the same practice in his *De Oratione*.[1] S. Cyprian speaks explicitly. For in discussing the case of Christians who had not actually lapsed, but had contemplated such action, he says, 'Sorrowfully and simply confessing this very fact before the priests of God, let them make an exhomologesis of conscience, let them relieve their mind of its burden; *let them demand the saving medicine even for small and moderate wounds*.'[2] In the same spirit S. Leo, about 445, decides that those who are guilty of idolatry, murder, or fornication 'must not be admitted to communion except by public penance,' but those who have merely eaten meats taken from pagan sacrifices 'can be purged by fasting and the laying on of the hand.'[3]

And where public penance was required, a preliminary private confession was often required also. The sins which were confessed were not confined to notoriously known and open sins. In such cases it might have been possible for the bishop and clergy to say, 'You will either be absolutely cut off from the Church, or you must at once submit to the public exhomologesis for the sin which we know that you committed.' But Tertullian plainly refers to the voluntary confession of serious sins. In his Catholic treatise *De Pœnitentia* (x. 7-8) he rebukes the folly of hiding from human notice such things as we cannot hide from God. At a far earlier date S. Ignatius, A.D. 110, possibly implies the same thing when he speaks of penitents gaining pardon if they have recourse 'to the unity of the Church and the consent of

[1] See also *Hom. in Lucam* xvii. with its comment on Ps. xxxi. 5.
[2] *De Lapsis*, xxviii. [3] *Epist.* ii. *ad Rusticum*.

the bishop.'[1] But from S. Cyprian and later writers we get information which leaves no room for doubt. For Cyprian mentions the sick penitent 'making confession' to a priest or deacon, he speaks of the martyrs sending penitents 'to the bishop,' and speaks of the bishops 'carefully examining who ought to be received and admitted into the Church.'[2] The strict care that he took to make the punishment proportionate to the sin would have been frustrated if a private confession had not been heard. Soon after A.D. 300, Marcellus, Bishop of Rome, selected twenty-five churches in Rome to be served by special priests 'for baptism and penitence,'[3] which implies, as a later statement[4] renders incontrovertible, that these priests were appointed to prepare penitents for baptism and reconciliation with the Church at the hands of the bishop. Leo, Bishop of Rome, writes in A.D. 445 that the 'arbitrium sacerdotis' must be prudently employed, and in 458 advises the Bishop of Aquileia to determine 'the times of penitence' according to the exact circumstances of the penitent.[5] Again, Innocent, Bishop of Rome, says, 'The priest (sacerdos) is to judge about estimating the weight of the offences that he may give care to the confession of the penitent.' The same practice existed elsewhere. The *Apostolic Constitutions*, written in Syria in the fourth century, provide that the bishop shall pass a preliminary judgment on the penitent and impose a discipline fitted to the offence (ii. 48). In Africa S. Augustine said that if a man judged himself to have sinned he was to refrain from approaching holy communion, and 'let him come to the bishops by whom those keys in the Church are administered.'[6] S. Leo

[1] *Ad Philad.* viii.
[2] *Epist.* lviii. 15.
[3] *Liber pontificalis*, t. i. p. 164.
[4] *Ibid.* t. i. p. 249.
[5] *Epist. ad Nicetam.*
[6] *Sermo* cccli. 9. This sermon seems to show that the degree of publicity attaching to the penance was determined by the bishop and clergy.

said that it was enough for sins to be told in a secret confession *solis sacerdotibus*.[1]

At Constantinople, then the second see in Christendom, a penitentiary priest heard the confessions of penitents, and decided what should be done with them. A story told by Socrates,[2] and repeated by Sozomen,[3] gives us important details about his duties. Socrates tells us that such an office had existed since the Decian persecution of A.D. 250, but in A.D. 391 it was abolished by Nectarius. The reason for this abolition was that a lady came to the presbyter and 'makes a detailed confession of the sins which she had committed after her baptism.' The presbyter appointed certain works meet for repentance, when 'the woman continuing accused herself of another fall,' viz. sinful intercourse with a deacon. The deacon was deposed in consequence of this statement of his accomplice in guilt. The scandal which the affair created caused Nectarius, the Archbishop of Constantinople, to be so weak as to abolish the office of the penitentiary presbyter, and his example was followed in other Greek dioceses. Socrates and Sozomen both seem to regret this step, believing that it meant that every one approached the holy communion at his own discretion. The office was not yet restored at Constantinople about 440.[4] The unconscious satire of Nectarius in abolishing the office of penitentiary presbyter, not because it led to immorality, but because it led to its punishment, is an instance of aberration which deserves attention in times when there is an outcry against the confessional.

Sozomen, before recording the details of this event, adds that the old penitential institutions are 'carefully

[1] *Epist. ad universos Episcopos per Campaniam.*
[2] *H. E.* v. 19. [3] *H. E.* vii. 16.
[4] It has been thought that no sacramental confession existed for a long time at Constantinople in consequence. But the story quoted below concerning S. Chrysostom makes it possible that the bishop heard confessions himself.

kept in the Western Churches, and especially in that of the Romans.' He mentions the confession made to the priest, who directs penitential works to be done and dismisses the penitent. The penitents are placed apart at the Eucharist, are specially prayed for by the bishop, and are re-admitted to the body of the faithful on a fixed day. We thus come back to the practices mentioned by S. Leo, which show in outline the institution recommended so strongly in our Book of Common Prayer. Lent had been instituted in the fourth century as a time for preparing candidates for baptism and penitents for reconciliation. In A.D. 416 Pope Innocent says: 'Those who do penance either for more grievous sins or for lighter sins that they have committed, if no sickness intervenes, the custom of the Roman Church shows must be forgiven on the Thursday before Easter.'[1] The rites of Ash Wednesday are first described for us in the Gelasian Sacramentary, though they are doubtless older than that book. Before the Mass the penitents presented themselves to a priest who clothed them with sackcloth. On Maundy Thursday they were solemnly restored to communion. At the beginning of the Mass the penitents were introduced by a deacon, who expressed their sorrow for sin, and the Pope offered a beautiful prayer for their pardon. From Siricius, S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, and S. Leo we find that late in the fourth and early in the fifth century only one opportunity of reconciliation was granted to those guilty of the worst sins. Yet S. Augustine encourages even those who have twice fallen to hope for forgiveness. Severe as he is, he will not shut them out from the mercy of God.[2] The first introduction of a milder rule is associated with the name of S. Chrysostom (A.D. 397), who was accused of allowing repentance more than once, and saying,

[1] *Epist. ad Decentium.*
[2] *Epist.* cliii. 7 *ad Macedonium.*

'Repent a thousand times, and come in.'[1] That a saint of such inflexible integrity and one so unsparing in his denunciation of vice, should have been responsible for this innovation is startling, and yet we can believe it to be true. And in the next century an African bishop, Victor of Cartenna, definitely taught that a man who says that he has 'fallen again' will be 'cured again.' 'He is always the same Who cured thee before.'[2]

We may finally note that according to the most probable interpretation of S. Leo, he desired in some cases a yearly confession of 'lighter' sins. He lays great stress upon the value of every Christian examining his conscience and not putting off the time of conversion and satisfaction. He speaks earnestly to those 'who have passed either in too much security or perchance in too much negligence almost the whole span of a year,' and urges on them 'the medicine of penitence.'[3] He does not here seem to be dealing with the case of gross sinners, but only those whose conscience is less troubled than it ought to be. It was a wise measure to counteract that Pelagianism which tells men that they need no inward grace and that they can do quite well enough by relying on themselves. His advice to the careless to examine themselves after a year of negligence seems to imply the very practice that we saw mentioned by his predecessor Innocent, namely, the absolution of lesser offences together with more serious offences on the Thursday before Easter.

NOTE TO CHAPTER VIII.

In addition to the works referred to in the course of this chapter, the author wishes to mention with a sense of special indebtedness the article on 'Absolution' in the new *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* and Mgr. Batiffol's *Études d'Histoire et de Théologie Positive.*

[1] Socrates, *H. E.* vi. 21 ; Hardouin, *Concilia*, t. i. col. 1042.
[2] *De Pœnitentia* 3 and 12 (*P. L.* t. xvii. p. 974 sqq.).
[3] *Sermo* xlii. 3 ; cf. xliii. and *Epist. ad Theodor. Forojul.* 5.

CHAPTER IX

MONASTICISM

> Let him that studieth consider with joy and love him that prayeth, saying, 'He prayeth for me.' Let him that prayeth say of the labourer, 'What is done is for the common weal.' It is thus that concord will reign, and all the world will be at peace. S. Macarius of Egypt, Hom. 3. *P. G.* xxxiv. 467-470.

§ 1. *The Origin of Monasticism.*

One page of the Gospel seems to demand so much of us and the next page seems to lay upon us such an easy yoke, that we can hardly be surprised that men have formed very different opinions as to the ideal Christian life. And even when our Lord Jesus Christ walked upon this earth, superficial observers fundamentally misunderstood His teaching about conduct. His life was not sufficiently rigorous and remote from ordinary ways to satisfy the standard of Oriental asceticism. He left it just possible for them to call Him 'a glutton and a wine-bibber.' And this impression that the Christian life was not sufficiently severe died hard in the East, if it has ever died at all. Celsus the great Neo-Platonist opponent of Christianity in the third century criticised it as 'body-loving,' and there are modern Hindus who regard it as materialistic. Certain it is that our Lord remained at home until He was some thirty years of age, that He began part of His

ministry by miraculously providing wine at a marriage feast, that He canonised friendship by His own example, that He reposed at the tables of Matthew and Simon. It was not at all the life of an Oriental fakir. Nor, on the other hand, was it the life of a Greek philosopher, urging his hearers to live an existence of exquisite proportion. He was poor, He was a wanderer. He warned men of the immense difficulty which the rich will find in attaining salvation. He showed that there are some who are morally and physically fitted to receive the rule of abstinence from marriage, while to others it is not given. He taught that devotion to Himself must sometimes come into direct conflict with the love of father and mother. He bade His disciples 'take no anxious thought' about their food and raiment.

These principles had to be applied by the Christians first to a Jewish and then to a Greek environment. The Church of Jerusalem in its earliest stage was thrilled with a spirit of self-denial, private property being voluntarily surrendered for the benefit of the community. Jewish usage and the evidence of the *Didaché* makes it probable that fasts were kept twice a week. The high estimation in which marriage was held by the Jews, and the example of at least some of the apostles, make it unlikely that many Christians renounced marriage or separated themselves from their ordinary callings. Yet in the case of the missionaries of the faith such renunciation must have sometimes been inevitable. S. Paul himself wishes that others were unmarried like himself, in order that they might be more free to serve the Lord. Renunciation was the better course, and as the Christians expected the return of their Lord in the near future, they had only a light esteem of this world's goods and of their own privations. Indeed, if that mistaken expectation had not been permitted by the mercy of God, we may doubt

if they would have had the heart to struggle and to die.

In the second century the problem as to the nature of Christian self-denial became acute. When the Church was small and poor and filled with enthusiasm, an ascetic life was comparatively easy. But the Christian community was no longer small or very poor. The Church pushed her way as steadily as the waves of an encroaching tide. In the first two chapters of this book we have noticed how it met with a perturbing stream of pagan thought which desired to combine Christianity and heathenism in a system of religious and philosophical 'Gnosis.' The more extreme Gnostics, such as the Carpocratians and certain of the Valentinians, allowed the greatest moral licence, 'emulating,' says S. Irenaeus, 'the indifference of the Cynics.'[1] Nor was this antinomianism confined to the East. For in the *Shepherd* of Hermas, written at Rome, we find mention of 'hypocrites' who teach that the sins of the faithful do not matter. Against this cynical morality a very strong protest was raised. 'Encratism,' the religion of the 'continent,' who exalted asceticism of a severe type, seemed to many earnest minds to solve the moral problem. It offered to bring man to a state of pure spirituality by releasing him from the body and its needs. Rigorous fasting and abstinence from marriage were regarded as conditions for entering the kingdom of heaven. Marcion, who mixed Gnosticism with a large Christian element, the apocryphal *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, and the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*, treat marriage as an evil. In the last-mentioned book Christ is represented as appearing to a young married pair and persuading them to live apart that so they may be His own bridal attendants. In the *Acts of Paul and Thekla*, a romance which seems to contain some true reminiscences of S. Paul's

[1] *Adv. Haer.* II. xxxii. § 2; cf. I. vi. § 3; I. xxv. § 5.

life, the apostle discourses on continence, and asserts that there is no resurrection except for him who remains 'pure.' By purity is implied celibacy, and his virgin admirer Thekla renounces her affianced husband and gives up all thought of marriage.

Before the end of the second century the aspect of the problem was changing. It had become plain that the Church would not, as a whole, exact from her converts the abnegation of social life. The men who upheld the most rigorous forms of Christian discipline, and hoped for the immediate coming of Christ, had organised themselves in Asia Minor under the leadership of Montanus. The Montanists represented the opposite extreme to the Gnostics. In Montanism we find the suspicion of culture, stern moral regulations, a belief in the immediate bodily return of Christ and a bodily resurrection. In Gnosticism we find heathen culture, moral laxity, a denial of the return of Christ, and a denial of the resurrection of the body. The Catholics usually represented the golden mean. But they seem to have included Encratites among them, for in A.D. 170 Dionysius of Corinth writes to a bishop of Cnossos 'not to impose continence as a heavy burden, but to have regard to the feebleness of the majority,'[1] and about A.D. 230 S. Hippolytus describes the Encratites as 'professing like the Church with regard to God and to Christ.'[2] Montanism had spread westwards, despising the Church as a mongrel and mechanical form of Christianity. But its very success made the victory of rigorist principles within the Church impossible.

In the third century the Church was already strong. In her fight with Montanism she had not deserted tradition, and in her fight with Gnosticism she had not banned culture. And in the third century familiarity with Greek culture was probably one of the many causes which generated monasticism in a strict

[1] Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. 23, § 8. [2] *Philosophoumena*, viii. 20.

sense of the word. The later Greek philosophy, especially in Egypt, had fostered contemplation, self-introspection, and a stern mortification of bodily desires. Among the Greeks this asceticism seems to have been a personal matter, and did not lead to a monastic life. But as early as the time of the apostles many of the Jews in Egypt led a solitary and austere life of chastity, prayer, and watching, and communities of these ascetics existed in the first and second centuries. Under the influence of Origen, who was the summary of the philosophy and learning of his time, this desire of contemplation and of flight from the world to God, was instilled amid the Christians of Alexandria. About A.D. 300 a society of monks was formed by Hieracas, an unorthodox follower of Origen, on lines suggested by Origen. Even before that time monasticism had taken firm root in Egypt, and by A.D. 360 its branches were spreading in every direction. It is not difficult to find reasons for its popularity. An attempt has been made to show that the Christian monks merely copied the rules of the heathen Egyptian ascetics who lived in communities at Heliopolis and Memphis. The attempt has not been very successful, for the causes of monasticism lie deeper. It came from weariness of the whirl of life and a desire for peace and reality such as led the founder of Buddhism to leave his home. It came from disgust with the secularity which flooded the Church when it gained the recognition of the State, and was preyed upon by heretical emperors and time-serving bishops. Sometimes it was connected with a real love of nature unknown to the city-loving Greeks. And though it probably at first gained an impetus from the Christians who had fled from the towns to the deserts of Egypt in the Decian persecution, it was often born of a heroism which was eager to live like Elijah or S. John the Baptist when the opportunity of martyrdom was gone.

The monastic life of Egypt soon assumed two forms, the strictly 'monastic' or solitary life of the hermits, and the 'common life' of ascetics in association. The chief originators of the solitary life[1] were in the fourth century believed to have been S. Paul of Thebes and his more famous successor, S. Antony, who adopted the hermit life about 285, and died at a great age in 356. The *Life of Antony*, attributed to S. Athanasius, has been represented as a fiction, a mere magic-lantern picture cast upon a blank sheet of history in order to start the pedigree of monasticism. But though his history may have been embellished, there is no reason for doubting that Antony existed, and very little reason for doubting that his *Life* is really the work of his great compatriot Athanasius. It is worth noting that Antony was himself a Copt, and that the names of the most noted monks of Egypt are usually Coptic and not Greek.

Even a monk is a social being, and the tendency to unite in a common organisation is very nearly as ancient as the formation of colonies of hermits. The common life emerged under the direction of S. Pachomius. As its organiser he appears in the pages of Rufinus, Sozomen, S. Jerome, and other ancient writers.

But the discovery of fresh documents, written in the Coptic language spoken by the ancient Christians of Egypt, has stimulated an investigation which has enabled us to trace more accurately than ever before, the outlines of his institutions. Besides these Coptic documents there are others in Greek and Arabic, and some discussion has taken place as to the relative value of these various writings. On the whole, it seems probable that the Greek life of S. Pachomius, and another

[1] Certain hermits, such as S. Paul of Thebes, lived in absolute isolation. These were hermits in the strictest sense of the word. But the organised hermit life instituted by S. Antony is mainly eremitical, there being no definite rule of life, and each monk being left very much to his own devices.

Greek work called the *Asceticon Pachomii* are the most primitive, that the Coptic story is a slightly later version embroidered with miraculous fantasies, and that the Arabic is an arbitrary compilation from the Greek, Coptic, and other sources. The Greek account was written by a monk who knew men who remembered S. Pachomius, and it is perhaps as old as A.D. 370. It shows us that the famous monk was born to the south of Esneh of pagan parents about 292. He was enrolled as a soldier under Constantine and learned the faith from Christian folk at Esneh. After receiving baptism he studied under a hermit named Palamon, whose labours he lightened and whose virtues he imitated. The fact that a number of hermits regarded Palamon as their spiritual father, and his own perception that a strict solitude is attended by peculiar dangers, led Pachomius to the idea of founding a united community inhabiting one home and sharing the same meals. His system was simply a development of previously existing practice. The hermits who had lived under the guidance of Antony had been in the habit of meeting together for common worship, and it was only one step forward to make these meetings frequent and to enclose the cells of the hermits with one wall. This is what Pachomius did. It is quite gratuitous to declare that he copied the monasticism of the heathen monks of Serapis. Such conjectures may be left to the fantastic rationalism which discovers in every Christian institution the metempsychosis of a heathen principle.

The first monastery of Pachomius was at Tabennîsi, but he was able to found no less than eight others. They were largely composed of men who had previously lived as hermits, or had been grouped together in some ascetic confraternity. Mary, the sister of Pachomius, became filled with a desire to imitate his example, and two convents for women were added to the nine monas-

teries for men. The movement was supported by S. Athanasius and by many of the other bishops of Egypt. The monks led a simple life with simple rules. No vows appear to have been exacted from the candidates, and they were subjected to none of the harassing trials which in later days were devised to test the capability of a novice. Manual labour and the study of the Bible were duties laid upon all alike. Each monastery contained several houses, and each house devoted itself to some useful trade such as carpentry or iron-work. Prayers were offered at dawn, mid-day, evening, and midnight. A meal seems to have been taken at mid-day, and another after evening prayer before retiring to rest. At Tabennîsi Pachomius and his monks went on Saturday morning to attend the Eucharist in the village church, and on Sunday the village priests came to celebrate in the monastery. On Wednesdays and Fridays the head of each house in the monastery gave an address to his spiritual household, and three times a week the 'father of the monastery' instructed the assembled monks. Pachomius apparently profited by experience so as to modify his rules. The text of these rules contains repetitions and contradictions, and it is worthy of remark that the modifications in them were made in the direction of mildness. Thus Pachomius had originally forbidden his monks to see even their nearest relatives. But he afterwards altered the rule and allowed them to go and walk with their friends.

Pachomius died from an epidemic on May 9, A.D. 346. His two successors, Theodore and Horsisi, completed his rule. It was written in Coptic, and a Greek translation was sent to S. Jerome by a priest named Silvanus. It was soon destined to influence Latin Christianity, but it failed to satisfy the more ardent spirits among the Egyptian Christians. Not far from Akhmîm, near the ruins of a village called

Atripé, there still exists a monastery under the name of 'the white monastery.' It was founded by a monk named Bgoul. He was succeeded by his nephew Schnoudi. This remarkable Egyptian possessed a character and a constitution of iron. He survived until A.D. 452, when he died at the age of 118. He was angry at the slackness which had invaded the monastery committed to his charge. Monks and nuns devoted undue attention to their toilet, some feigned sickness in order to enjoy the comforts of the infirmary, others were insubordinate. Schnoudi reformed his monastery with an inflexible rigour. He adopted most of the rules of Pachomius. There were the same rules for admission, the same absence of a novitiate, the same tacit engagement to practise poverty, obedience, and chastity. But the monks of Schnoudi were only allowed one meal a day, and the life of a hermit was treated as a holier life than that of a monk. Pachomius had founded 'the common life' because he saw the dangers of 'the solitary life,' but Bgoul and Schnoudi allowed their monks to leave the monastery to live in the desert. The work of Schnoudi was a comparative failure. But his name was revered by the Copts, who, after centuries of Moslem oppression, still maintain some of their ancient monasteries by the Nile and by the Red Sea. On the whole, the spirit of Egyptian monasticism was one of strong individualism. Even in the Pachomian monasteries it was left possible for one monk to try to surpass another in austerities. Few fitter instances of this rivalry could be found than the action of S. Macarius, who, when he heard of a monk who ate nothing but a pound of bread a day, ate each day for three years no more than he could extract in a single handful through the narrow neck of a jar. This spirit of athleticism—and the word 'athlete' was a favourite title for an ascetic—sometimes led to eccentric and mischievous results. But in

Egypt it was often combined with a high spiritual teaching which does much to deserve a favourable verdict for monasticism.

The two different types of Egyptian monasticism were transplanted to other lands. In Syria and Mesopotamia the hermit life became popular, and amazing developments in austerity were devised. The fervid Semitic monks of these regions tortured themselves in a manner more fitted for the worship of Baal or Shiva than of Christ. Certain Syrian hermits dwelt on the mountains and browsed on grass, eating neither meat nor bread. And to this day there stand the ruins of the great church which was built around the pillar on which S. Simeon Stylites shrivelled and prayed for years. On the other hand, S. Basil, who founded his first monastery about A.D. 360 in Pontus, set his face against the hermit life. He is the founder of the monasticism of the Greek and Russian Churches, a monasticism which has furnished all the higher dignitaries of the Church, a monasticism which is uneventful and often useful, national in spirit, and seldom in conflict with the State. S. Basil's rule provides for a true community life, with common meals, common work, and common prayer seven times a day. He definitely opposes such fasting and austerities as render a man unfit for work, and says that it is the duty of a superior to see that fasting and labour are continued to the extent which bodily strength allows. It is the monastic principle of Pachomius, modified by the wisdom and prudence of Greek Christianity.

§ 2. *Western Monasticism before the Tenth Century.*

When S. Athanasius, on the occasion of the second of the five exiles which he suffered for the truth, took shelter in Rome with Pope Julius, he made the work

of Pachomius known in the capital of Western Christendom. Soon afterwards S. Jerome was preaching the principles of monasticism both in Bethlehem and Rome. His letters, which abound with vivacious allusions to the life of the period, contain many useful indications for the history of monasticism. It is hardly possible to trace the origin and locality of all the monastic customs which he describes, for he alludes sometimes to the practices of Syria or Palestine, and sometimes to those of Egypt. But in 404 he published the rule of Pachomius in Latin, and from that date the monks and nuns of Bethlehem adopted it as their guide to perfection. The *Life of Antony* was translated into Latin about 380, and exercised considerable influence in Italy. And in Gaul Cassian, the most important organiser of monasticism, deliberately copied the community life and the hermit life which existed in Egypt. But in the West monasticism did not remain a copy. It has been not so much an established institution as a continuous movement. Every change in it has been made with a practical purpose. This has not been the result of chance. All through the history of Christendom the Christianity of the West has shown a preference for the more practical aspects of theology and religion. It has not, as a whole, shown much aptitude for speculation or for contemplation. The Italian, the Frenchman, and the Englishman cannot ordinarily think like the Greek, the Syrian, and the Russian. When Mr. Kipling wrote his story of the Hindu who had obtained a good position under the British Government and suddenly relinquished everything to live as a hermit on the Himalayas, he depicted a character which an Oriental Christian can understand. To an Englishman such action seems unnatural, if not fantastic. And though the western monks of old times read and cherished the lives of men like S. Antony and S. Paul of Thebes,

they nearly always preferred to make their monasticism an active life with some definite task to perform.

The career of S. Augustine illustrates this fact with remarkable clearness. Shortly before his conversion, and at a time when he was a Christian by conviction, but followed 'another law in his members,' he was visited by a fellow-countryman, who told him of something which had lately occurred at Trier. Some imperial officials were walking in the gardens near the city-walls, when they found the hut of a hermit. They entered and found a book, the *Life of S. Antony*. One of them began to read it, and they were so overcome by its contents that they resolved there and then to follow the saint's example.

Augustine's friend witnessed the scene, and told the story with enthusiasm. It produced the same effect upon the listener as the book had produced on the officials at Trier. Augustine was spell-bound, and was thrown into that inward conflict, which ended when all darkness suddenly vanished as he read the words, 'Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof.'

But, when thus transformed, he had no desire to make S. Antony his model in everything. He continued to devote himself to serious study, and afterwards combined philosophical and theological pursuits with the duties of a bishop. Indirectly his own teaching exercised a vast influence on the future of monasticism. His teaching about the need of an inward vital union with Christ attracted the mystical and contemplative minds of all succeeding ages. And his teaching about the kingdom of God on earth was made the foundation of that doctrine of the Papal rule into the service of which the monastic orders were

subsequently pressed. In the year 410 Rome was taken and sacked by the Goths. The shock came as an earthquake to the antique world, and Augustine met the fears of his fellow-men by presenting them with a new theory of history in his work *De Civitate Dei.* He represents the State as destined to take its place within the Church, and the civil power as becoming the instrument of the Church. The Church was to govern the world by means of this potent instrument. But for such an ideal to be realised the Church must be able to act promptly and vigorously, and nothing could act so promptly and vigorously as one man in a central position of authority. Augustine did not mean this, and never intended that the Bishop of Rome should govern the *Civitas Dei.* But he had given Latin Christendom a problem to work out, and the answer which it gave was the Papacy.

By the time of S. Augustine's death, A.D. 430, monasticism was at home in Western Christendom. Its history had begun, and that history has been one of uninterrupted importance until the present day. Every revival of Catholic piety has been attended by a revival of monasticism from the time of Gregory the Great to the Oxford Movement. In the Western Churches, S. Benedict at Nursia in Italy in the sixth century, the abbots at Cluni in France in the tenth century, S. Bernard at Clairvaux in France in the twelfth century, S. Francis at Assisi in Italy in the thirteenth century, S. Ignatius Loyola at Montmartre and Rome in the sixteenth century, Dr. Pusey at Oxford in the nineteenth century, were not merely men of distinction. Their names mark epochs, they created reform in the midst of slackness and they kindled fire in the midst of cold. It is easy for us to see, or think we see, that they made mistakes. But even the first apostles occasionally did that. And the great man is not the man who has never made a

mistake, but the one who has extended the kingdom of God in the souls of men.

From the fourth century until the sixth, the monasticism of Italy was thoroughly Oriental, and though its sources of inspiration were not exclusively Egyptian, the more extreme type of Egyptian monasticism was considered to be the model of Christian asceticism. S. Augustine describes the fasting at Rome as utterly incredible, some of the monks and nuns abstaining from all food and drink for more than three days at a time. These extravagant ideals ended in failure. The austerities which were just possible in Egypt for many, were only possible in the climate of Europe for a very few, and disorder was the result.

From this disorder and this extravagance, Western monasticism was rescued by S. Benedict (A.D. 480-550). He was a great law-giver, and his rule was the Deuteronomy of monastic life. It was the outcome of his personal experience. As a very young man he had fled aghast from the wickedness of Rome, and had devoted himself to a monastic life of the Egyptian hermit fashion. He lived in a cave, he was clothed in skins, and fed himself on bread and water. But he grew wiser, and turned his back on these useless afflictions. He composed a new rule which reduced the earlier forms to a single one, and that of the most fruitful kind. Its special merits are three. It insisted on the duty of work, which in the first instance was agriculture. It subordinated the individual to a community, by establishing frequent public common prayer, work, and reading. It eliminated those ascetic practices which ministered to ill-health or personal pride; thus he allowed his monks a pillow and a mattress, sufficient sleep, decent clothing, a little wine, and three simple dishes of food. The rule would have scandalised the monks of the East, for it was as much

a revolution as a rule. It would seem strict to many modern readers, but to the religious of Benedict's own time it was mildness itself, containing, as he said, *nihil asperum, nihilque grave*. Its success was assured from the first. It showed itself peculiarly fitted for the new races of Western Europe and notably those of Teutonic origin. In country after country the disciples of S. Benedict worked with the cross, the plough, and the pen, and we who have entered into their labours will not ridicule the simple legend that the pathway by which their patriarch entered heaven was spread with robes and fringed with lights.

Pope Gregory the Great, himself the most remarkable man of his time, the correspondent of kings and queens, and the teacher of the clergy, used the monks as his missionaries. It had been no part of Benedict's scheme to furnish a militia for the Bishop of Rome. But to convert the heathen, to unify the Church, to maintain centres of civilisation amid a growing barbarism, the monks were needed, and they lent their services. S. Augustine of Canterbury, the apostle of Kent and in some real sense the apostle of England, illustrates the merits and the dangers of this enlistment of the monks. It drew England close to the heart of Christian energy, it somewhat ruthlessly destroyed an older fashion of Christian worship and a type of monasticism less organised but not less zealous than the Benedictine order, and it helped the Pope to transform a primacy of honour into a primacy of jurisdiction. In the gentle Aidan the modern English see a truer Christian than in the imperious Augustine. But, as we look backward, we can see that the Celtic missionaries were less practical than the Roman, and that the religious tie between England and the Continent in lessening our insularity lessened our barbarism. How degenerate and ineffective the religion and the monasticism of Great Britain tended to become when

that tie did not exist is shown by the state of Scotland in the time of Queen Margaret, A.D. 1090. The Celtic Church was fitted for the tribal system of the people who embraced it. It was not fitted for the life of large towns and large kingdoms. But the Benedictines in their turn failed to save themselves from the evil of the society in which they lived. The increase of their order in the north of Europe was attended by an abuse, which was one of the most characteristic features of the tenth century. Dukes and counts became abbots for the sake of enjoying the monastic revenues. And abbots, like bishops, were feudal princes, and their property was subject to the same law as that of other feudal princes. It was assumed that the property of an abbey or see was inseparable from the spiritual office. Therefore the authority which disposed of the one also sanctioned the other. And the emperor or king consequently exacted from their prelates an oath of vassalage, and his investiture of them with ring and crozier was the emblem of their dependence. This dependence upon a secular power threatened the liberty of Christian teaching, and caused a bitter struggle between Church and State.

§ 3. *The Revival of Monasticism.*

The monastery of Cluni, founded in A.D. 910, represented the determination to oppose this feudalism. It stood for absolute freedom from lay control, and was from the first under the immediate protection of Rome, where a branch of the order was established at the earliest opportunity. Cluni also stood for learning. The monks copied manuscripts, and read books both sacred and pagan. Owning wide domains and many serfs, they had less need to work at the fields, and more time to work at the desk. But the real secret of Cluni was its organisation. The Benedictine

rule allowed each abbey to elect its own abbot. The Cluniac rule had only one abbot for the whole society, and this abbot appointed the 'prior' of each affiliated abbey. The rule of Cluni is to the rule of S. Benedict what Papacy is to Episcopacy. And when the great Hildebrand, himself a Cluniac monk, became Pope in A.D. 1073 under the name of Gregory VII., he worked hand in hand with the potent abbot of Cluni to reform Western Christendom on the model of a Cluniac monastery. He gave effect to the idea that the clergy should be celibate and in strict dependence on a single head. There was to be no more investiture by laymen, and no more married priests. A new and real religious zeal was aroused among the people, but a dangerous repugnance to political ordinances was established, and the Popes set up their temporal lordship at the expense of employing very carnal weapons. Thus the very movement which was intended to free the Church from secular influence outside, secularised the Church within. It was not the fault of the holy founders of Cluni. But Cluni paid the penalty, for the time came when it lost its independence and was ruled by abbots appointed alternately by the Pope and the King of France.

The other attempt of Hildebrand to remodel the Church was equally successful and equally disastrous. The secular clergy were now compelled to live a celibate life. In the West there had been a steady tendency to enforce celibacy on the clergy since the Spaniards tried to separate priests from their wives by a canon made at Elvira in A.D. 306. And, apart from the question of the priest's personal continence, Church reformers were eager that the rich benefices of the Church should be open to the humblest, and cease to be inherited as a patrimony by the sons of married priests. But the rule of clerical celibacy only became established very gradually. Even in North Italy the clergy

married 'openly and legitimately' until the eleventh century, in Hungary their marriage was allowed at least as late as A.D. 1114, and in Sweden they married in A.D. 1213. But in the eleventh century a strong effort was made by Rome to suppress clerical marriage and the effort affected England very quickly. For in A.D. 1076 a Council of Winchester required that future candidates for ordination should remain unmarried, and a Synod at Westminster in A.D. 1138 attempted to deprive all married clergy of their livings. The result from this period onwards until the Reformation may easily be imagined. A stop was put to the inheritance of benefices, but marriage was replaced by permanent concubinage. The sin was so common that it was scarcely regarded as sin. The last English primate before the Reformation and the last Scottish primate were both of immoral life. But they were no worse than the cathedral dignitaries of Seville in 1835,[1] and not nearly as bad as some of the Spanish-American clergy at a more recent date.

S. Bernard of Clairvaux in France began the third great movement of distinctively Western monasticism. There is scarcely a department of religious thought in which he was not conspicuous, and before he died he had ruled Western Europe for nine years. As a theologian he represented the traditional orthodoxy of the time as against a scholasticism which was drifting from the faith. As a mystic he followed S. Augustine in directing the hearts of men into a contemplative union with God. But he gave a new tone to all later mysticism by calling prayerful souls to cultivate a love of Christ in His sufferings, and to 'sit with great delight' under the shadow of the Cross. This enthusiasm for the Passion of Christ was the heart's accompaniment to the Crusades. For centuries Christians had desired to rescue from Moslem

[1] J. M. Neale, *Essays on Liturgiology and Church History*, p. 486.

rule the holy places where Christ lived and died. The result of the first Crusade (A.D. 1091-99), had been to rescue Jerusalem, but the capture of Edessa by the Moslems now threatened both Jerusalem and Antioch. Bernard at first hesitated to preach a second Crusade. But when he had made up his mind, he grasped the idea with all the burning energy of which he was capable. He wished to give the Crusade the most magnificent proportions, and planned a threefold attack on the non-Christian world, against the Moslems in Palestine and in Portugal, and against the heathen Slavs on the Elbe. He pushed Europe against the East. And the East pushed Europe back. The saint was routed and he knew it, and said, 'I consent to be insulted, as long as they do not touch the glory of God.' His real victories lay elsewhere.

Though S. Bernard was the Christian genius of the twelfth century, he did not represent the whole of that complex age. Suger, the Abbot of S. Denis near Paris, whom Bernard himself called a 'vessel of honour,' was in many ways as great a man. Bernard, like S. Jerome, protested against the elaborate decoration of churches; he said, 'they hinder the soul's devotion.' Suger loaded the church that he built with exquisite treasures. And, what is more, he loved Horace and Ovid, though he lived on plain food and slept on a straw bed. In general capacity for dealing with affairs, Bernard and Suger resembled each other, but the rigour of the former and the moderation of the latter show what different minds monasticism pressed into the service of the Church.

But neither rigour nor moderation could save monasticism from corruption. The close connection which existed between monasticism and Church politics in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the Papacy was at the summit of its power, may have done something to secularise the monastic orders. But

the general tone of society did more. The tendency of every powerful class to put might for right, and to take whatever it could grasp, affected both the higher clergy and the monks. We also find new developments in the shape of semi-monastic orders which intentionally combined military and political interests with the cause of religion. These orders necessarily tended to rob monasticism of its specifically religious character. Such were the Templars, the Brothers of the Sword who undertook to convert Livland, and the Order of Calatrava for fighting against the Moslems in Spain. A more purely religious spirit is shown by the 'Order of the Holy Trinity for the redemption of Captives,' and orders which undertook the care of hospitals. Meanwhile the members of the older orders became men of the world, not by labouring for the world, but by adopting its maxims and habits.

About A.D. 1200 the Cistercians were already engaged in successful mercantile transactions. In A.D. 1212 the abbot of Cluni was greeted with a shower of stones when he went to rebuke a scandalous subordinate, and even murders were not unknown within monastery walls. And Guyot de Provins, after a scathing indictment of the monks in his *Bible* added, 'To chant and fast is not that which saves the soul, but charity and faith.'

§ 4. *The Friars.*

With S. Francis charity and faith were seen on earth again. His friend S. Dominic does not stand on the same level, though their lives often rang out in tune. Dominic was a Spaniard, and had distinguished himself by preaching with Spanish ardour among the Albigensians in Southern France (A.D. 1205-8). He saw that the corruption of the clergy was one of the chief reasons why the people fell in love with the

adherents of this Oriental superstition, which denied the real resurrection of Christ and asserted that matter is evil. In spite of his own earnestness, his success in converting the heretics was limited, and the Pope began to yield to those who recommended violent measures for the suppression of the Albigensians. When the heretics murdered the Pope's own legate the adoption of violence was inevitable. Dominic, however, continued his work, and in 1216 formed a little congregation of 'Preaching brothers.' They devoted themselves to learning and preaching, and with great wisdom dispatched some of their number to Paris and Bologna. They thus made their influence felt at two universities which were the very centres of intellectual life. While some of the more old-fashioned clergy eyed the universities with suspicion, Dominic resolved to capture them for Christ. And it was at the university town of Bologna that Dominic, influenced by Francis, laid down the law that his brothers should beg for their living.

With Francis the fulfilment of the Gospel began with the precept, 'If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell that thou hast, and give to the poor.' He was the sunniest of the saints. He knew the songs of France, then the land of song, but he loved nature with a depth which literature alone could not inspire. His love for nature was part of his spontaneous goodness. The man who delighted to see the lambs frolic and hear the birds sing, was the man who taught that to repeat 'Our Father,' and to shed a few tears over Christ's Passion, was the best of prayers. He is the only saint who has ever been the hero of such a legend as the 'Little Flowers of S. Francis.' It is the story of the saint as Italian tradition remembered him, a saint with humour and emotion, attended by followers of strange simplicity. He chose poverty as a means of resembling Christ and of saving the souls for whom He died. He

made himself as they were, tending the poor in sickness, and when the convent chest was empty he gave an old woman the last treasure that the convent had, a Bible. To be a Dominican it was necessary to study and to preach. To be a Franciscan it was only needful to give oneself to the service of God and the unfortunate.

His monastic rules grew from this ground. In their first form they consisted of some verses of the Gospel, verses put together not for a formal 'order,' but for 'the penitents of Assisi' (1210). Even in their second form (1221) they were little more than some prayers and exhortations. But during the absence of Francis in the East, Cardinal Hugolin, afterwards Pope Gregory IX., had manifested an interest in his work, and the third form of the rules (1223) was really the conception of Francis as codified and regulated by Rome. But the work of Francis was done. He had broken down the notion that the monastic life was mainly for the *élite* of birth and learning. He had brought the Gospel to the people of the highways and the hedges. But he was no anarchist either in Church or State. He had that wise docility which gives such power to a Catholic character. And he proscribed neither property nor family, though he regarded them as ties from which an evangelist should be free.

The reconstruction of the life of S. Francis has been one of the great literary romances of recent years. Thomas de Celano, a member of the Franciscan order, finished his 'First Life of S. Francis' in 1229, about three years after the death of the saint. In 1246 'Three Associates' of the saint wrote a story, sweet, intimate, and pure, haunted by the memory of their master. One of the three was Leo, who had been for years the secretary of Francis. Then Thomas de Celano wrote his 'Second Life,' which reflects his desire to maintain the strictest rule of poverty. Lastly, in 1260, a fourth life was begun by S. Bonaventura. He wrote gracefully

and added some facts of value. But he omitted to mention the pain caused to S. Francis by the laxity of the order. Humble incidents are toned down, there are more miracles and fewer inward struggles. These features commended the book to the order, and a decree was passed that the previous lives should be destroyed. Happily, some few copies escaped. In the eighteenth century the Bollandists discovered the 'First Life,' and that by the 'Three Associates.' At the beginning of the nineteenth century Rinoldi, a Franciscan, discovered the 'Second Life.' All the lost documents seemed to be restored, but it was not so.

In 1898 M. Sabatier published the *Speculum Perfectionis*, a life of S. Francis by Leo, written immediately after his death. The vivid knowledge of Assisi, the pithy and characteristic sayings of the saint, the precise account of his last malady, the changing policy of the Franciscans with regard to the vow of poverty, stamp the book as primitive. It is a vision of things done before the writer's own eyes, a picture painted hastily by a genius who did not pause to admire his own work. And the saint is the child-like saint of the 'Little Flowers' after all, more than the edifying saint whom Bonaventura set up.

The success of the friars was astounding. S. Dominic died August 6, A.D. 1221. S. Francis died October 3, A.D. 1226. Within a generation their houses were dotted over nearly the whole of western Europe. In France, from the King S. Louis downwards, earnest men were affiliated with the friars; friars sat in episcopal chairs, and friars had annexed the great university of Paris and raised it to a pinnacle of intellectual eminence. To what was this success due? We have noticed some distinct characteristics of the Dominicans and the Franciscans, but we may fitly notice some of the characteristics which they had in common.

The first secret of the success of Dominic and Francis was assuredly Christ in them. 'Yet not I, but Christ liveth in me,' the wish to do and to suffer with Christ, these were the springs of their devotion. Their religion was real, and, as is usually the case sooner or later, the men who saw them recognised that their religion was real. One of the best proofs of it is that they loved one another. Jealousy of another man's spiritual triumphs, the desire that God shall use me and not another as his finest instrument, is a besetting temptation of noble minds. But Dominic and Francis were not jealous. And this, though sometimes unnoticed, is one of their great distinctions. A second reason was that their religion made them love their neighbours. They trusted the people. The religion of the Benedictines and the Cistercians led them to withdraw to the then quiet hill of St. Albans or the deep glades of Rievaulx. But the friars had to beg for their food, and they settled themselves in the big towns. The name of Blackfriars in London and the Greyfriars church in Edinburgh remind us of the men who planted monasticism in cities. This too is a great distinction. Moreover, their poverty was one of the great reasons for their success. The poor did not envy them, and the rich did not wish to curtail their influence. They were unlike the great feudal bishops and the older wealthier orders of monks. The bitterness which existed in the towns between the middle classes and the great secular ecclesiastics, a bitterness which has left an after-taste in some cathedral cities of modern England, was unfelt where the friars were concerned. Unfortunately this popularity soon brought its nemesis. Gifts were showered upon the begging orders in such abundance that before long they too became rich, their churches became sumptuous, and their gardens paradises. But the end was not yet.

When the religious life is really exuberant, it is sure

to manifest itself in directions which could not have been anticipated. It was so with the friars. The men who preached to the poor in the language of the poor gave a mighty stimulus to art and science. The poetry of Francis prepares us for the fact that the Franciscans produced the finest mediæval hymns, such as the *Dies Irae* and the *Stabat Mater*, and the care with which Dominic devoted himself to preaching prepares us for the fact that the Dominicans furnished some of the best mediæval sermons. But all the more important theologians of the thirteenth century belonged to the begging orders. Albertus Magnus and S. Thomas Aquinas were Dominicans, and S. Bonaventura, the contemporary of S. Thomas, was a Franciscan. The frescoes of Giotto and the verses of Dante are inspired by the same motive. The spirit of Assisi found expression in an art as delicate as that of ancient Greece. Asceticism and beauty have at last kissed each other.

The Papacy soon treated the begging orders as privileged children. It was in need of international agents who could, if necessary, be utilised against the local clergy. The wealth and the landed property of the older orders made them dangerously independent of the Pope. The bishops and the secular clergy were sometimes the bulwarks of national and ecclesiastical liberty, as Englishmen have cause to remember. We know who extracted from King John some weighty words about the Church of England in Magna Charta. But the friars were a valuable tool for diminishing the authority of the bishops and for linking the national Churches to Rome. They obtained from Rome the right to hear confessions, to administer communion and to bestow indulgences. They began to aim at popularity and to speculate on the superstition of the people. Their descent was rapid. In Chaucer and in Erasmus we can see how far the friars abased themselves. They sank into such contempt that at last

George Buchanan, the Scottish humanist, spoke of entering the Franciscan order as a substitute for suicide.

It was not without an acute inward struggle that the Franciscan order lent itself to the cause of the Papacy. For several years after the death of their founder, the Franciscans were divided into a strong and a lax party. The former desired to have the mind of Francis in all things, and were opposed to the authority of the Pope in temporal matters. At the close of the thirteenth century there was a sharp conflict between the Papacy and the extreme Franciscans, who, as was not unnatural under persecution, tended to a fanciful piety and a private judgment resembling that of the heretical sects. This so-called 'Spiritual' party succumbed in the fourteenth century. And thus, through the extravagance of some and the caution of others, the friars failed to emancipate the Western Church from the yoke which broke it in the sixteenth century.

Though they failed to reform permanently the whole of Western Christendom, the friars did infuse a religious life, which expressed itself in individual lives and in small communities. The Dominican Tertiaries and the Franciscan Tertiaries were imitated by various brotherhoods and sisterhoods. And from the womb of dying monasticism there issued three movements which have had a great influence on the history of religion. The first is the so-called German mysticism, which is really Dominican rather than German, for it is based on the theology of S. Thomas Aquinas. It is found in Eckehart and Tauler, in Ruysbroek, and in the author of the *Theologia Germanica*, which influenced Luther. Man was an exile, the world was the place to which he had been transported. Yet those 'exules filii Hevae' had a joy which some of their modern imitators cannot share. If they felt prisoners 'like

grass beneath the ice,' they saw by faith the spring-time of eternity. The second movement is manifested in the Dutch 'Brethren of the Common Life,' and is associated with the immortal name of Thomas à Kempis. The brethren were remarkable for their wise moderation in asceticism, for their devotion to the Person of our Lord and to the Bible, for their industry in printing and education. They had before them the ideal of men who contemplated heaven while they benefited the world. The third movement finds a fit illustration in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, colleges which have always kept a monastic form of outward structure and distinct traces of mediæval monastic life. The founders of such colleges had before them a true conception of the part which religion should play in education. They saw it, not as an appendage, large or small, to secular lectures, but as the atmosphere of a healthy and manly development. And before we criticise the decline of the Benedictines and the Franciscans, the beam in our own eyes might claim our attention. The undergraduate hurrying to roll-call as an alternative for chapel, the effusive laicism of the clerical don, and the Agnostic lecturer who draws his salary from Christian legacies, are the modern counterpart of corruptions which we denounce and imitate.

§ 5. *Monasticism since the Reformation.*

If Monasticism was to survive the shock of the Reformation, and at the same time win any substantial triumphs, it had to assume a new form. The new form was as different from the old as the church of the Gesù at Rome is different from Westminster abbey or Amiens cathedral. Asceticism must be subordinated to action, mysticism must be subordinated to method, the monastic life must cease to be a refuge from the

world and must become a direct means of influencing the world, modern learning must be utilised and not neglected. Such were the principles of the Jesuits, whose society is the most characteristic product of the movement in the Roman communion to counteract the Reformation. Its primary features were the unconditional submission of the whole society to the Pope, and the military obedience rendered by the whole society to a general who was elected for life and must live at Rome. The society was meant to be a sword whose hilt is at Rome and whose point is everywhere. Almost from the first it became the indispensable servant of the Papacy, and like most indispensable servants it nearly became a virtual master. To suppose that it was the creation of cunning or bigotry would be a grotesque injustice. It arose from the supple genius and the fervid enthusiasm of S. Ignatius, an aristocratic officer of Spanish race—a race whose battles with the Moors had schooled them in a combination of military and religious enthusiasm. Neither cunning nor bigotry will account for the fact that the method of mental prayer which he adapted from the treatise of the Dominican Cisnero and embodied in his *Spiritual Exercises* has had such a lasting influence. Nor was the opposition of the Jesuits to the Reformation, an opposition which was sometimes unscrupulous, a part of their original programme. The society at first intended to labour in Palestine, and it was the stress of external circumstances and their own sheer ability which diverted their efforts to northern Europe. They drew thousands of youths of the upper classes to their schools and colleges, they won back vast districts of Europe to the Church, and attempted to convert the heathen of far-off countries. They were able to produce such a missionary as S. Francis Xavier, such a commentator as Maldonatus, such a guide to 'Christian perfection' as Rodriguez. In estimating their impor-

tance it is necessary to abstain from those sweeping generalisations which are either all light or all shade. The Society of Jesus has included many thousands of members, among whom have been simple saints and scheming politicians. We must not only distinguish between the good men and the bad, but we must distinguish between what was really new and distinctive in their teaching and what was drawn from older sources. Dislike of the Jesuits is not a Protestant prejudice, for from the time of Ignatius to the present day the Jesuits have been hotly criticised by Roman Catholics and even by fervent Ultramontanes. Nor does the dislike appear to be mere jealousy, such as might cause the older monastic orders to envy a new and successful rival. Jealousy and prejudice have been responsible for calumny and injustice, but the fact remains that persons who are neither calumniators nor unjust dislike the Society of Jesus because they are convinced that, as a whole, it has been deeply infected with worldliness. In the first stage of its history, that from 1534 to 1565, it attained immense influence. In the second stage, that from 1565 to 1645, Ignatius and Francis Xavier were canonised, and the Jesuits dominated the Roman communion. Having gained a widespread ascendency through the confessional, they endeavoured to maintain it by careful instruction in a system of moral theology. This moral theology distinctly tended in the direction of allowing Christians to live lives of ordinary 'men of the world' so long as they made use of the sacraments and subordinated themselves to current religious teaching. At every crucial point the Jesuit moral theology went wrong. A laxer view of sin was introduced by teaching that a sin is only a deadly sin when the understanding of the sinner clearly recognised what was bad in the action and when his will fully and freely agreed to it. In this way a man whose character was dead in sin had a

good chance of being pronounced free from deadly sins, his sins being isolated from his sinfulness. Again, the earnestness of repentance was diminished by teaching that absolution might be granted if the penitent felt a regret for sin which was merely due to a fear of punishment, and even of punishment in this world.[1] Finally, the conscience was pulverised by the doctrine of *Probabilism.* This theory, first taught by the Dominican de Medina, 1577, was formulated by the Jesuits and became their ruling doctrine. It teaches that when a man's conscience is in doubt after he has honestly tried to find out what is right, he may use his liberty if he has really 'probable' grounds for thinking that a law does not bind him, even if he believes that the argument on the other side is 'more probable.' He may follow a 'probable' opinion in morality, in spite of there being a 'more probable' opinion to the contrary.[2] The climax was reached when it was taught that the opinion of only one respected teacher was sufficient to render an opinion in moral theology 'probable.' The contest with regard to the lawfulness of Probabilism is scarcely ended at the present day. Quite recently an audacious attempt has been made by the Probabilists to prove that when the Roman see canonised S. Alphonsus Liguori and proclaimed him as a 'doctor' of the Church, the doctrines of Probabilism were *ipso facto* ratified. The truth is that S. Alphonsus, after following for a time the Jesuit moral theology, definitely repudiated it and ranged himself on the other side.[3]

Side by side with these unspiritual views of morality,

[1] The doctrine that this 'natural attrition' is sufficient was condemned by Pope Innocent XI. in 1679. It is now taught that attrition, to be sufficient, must include 'an incipient though not yet predominant love of God.'

[2] See the account, perhaps too favourable, in the article 'Moral Theology' in W. E. Addis and T. Arnold, *Catholic Dictionary.*

[3] Le R. P. Mandonnet, *Revue Thomiste*, Septembre 1901.

the Jesuits laid stress upon novel forms of belief and worship which had been unknown to the undivided Church and only very partially anticipated in the later Middle Ages. These new devotions are of a highly emotional and somewhat sensuous type. Thus the Jesuits maintained the 'immaculate conception' of Mary, and so successfully fostered the worship of the 'Sacred Heart' of Jesus that in many countries the Second Person of the Trinity is mainly adored under the form of the 'Sacred Heart.'[1] More recently this has developed into devotion to the 'Agonising Heart,' and an effort has been made to establish perpetual supplication to the 'fellow-suffering heart of Mary.'[2] This fertility in the invention of special devotions has undoubtedly made religion interesting to the classes whose religious belief is dominated by sentiment, but it has quite certainly caused some central doctrines of the Creed and of the Gospels to be neglected. The criticism passed by Cardinal Manning on the inadequate teaching given by the modern English Roman clergy is a sufficient though unconscious testimony to the evil result of preaching legends, prayers, and canonisations which have resulted from this theological decadence, even though Manning did not perceive the root of the evil.[3] And no greater mistake can be made than to suppose that the materialism of unbelief or the sentimental individualism which sways many sincere Protestants can be really vanquished by this pseudo-mysticism, or by the exaltation of some of the modern saints who are

[1] There is at least reason to suspect that the Jesuit Claude de la Colombière, who left England in 1678, and became the director of the nun on whose revelations this cultus was afterwards based, really derived the idea from a popular tract of an Independent divine, Thomas Goodwin, called *The Heart of Christ in Heaven towards Sinners on Earth.*

[2] Le R. P. Lyonnard, *L'Apostolat de la Souffrance*, p. 324 (Paris, 1866).

[3] Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning*, vol. ii. p. 776.

connection with it. One instance, and that not extreme, is to be found in S. Aloysius, who enjoys an immense veneration as the patron of young students. He joined himself to the Society of Jesus, and the Society is responsible for his canonisation. The lad's heroism was his own, his faults were born of a morbid religious atmosphere. But it is little credit to the Jesuits that they did not stop his hideous austerities, and that they have secured the distinction of presenting to the world as a 'model of chastity' a boy whose modesty was so rancid that he would not even look at his mother.[1]

In spite of its power, the Society of Jesus did not absorb all the energy of the Roman communion. And it is great folly on the part of Protestant historians to pay the Jesuits the compliment of saying that it did. The relative importance of the Jesuits cannot be determined without taking into account that rich growth of religious orders which marked the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some of these orders came into existence before the Council of Trent. Such were the Theatines, the Capuchins, and the Barnabites. Then we have S. Philip Neri, the founder of the Oratorians, whose nightly prayer-meetings in Rome, with their cheerful music, were the earliest form of 'Oratorio.' The spirit of these orders was the common desire to improve practical Church life, such as to build up an efficient clergy and deepen their studies. The famous French Oratory and the Benedictines of the Congregation of S. Maur furnish typical examples of this union of godliness and learning.

A second group of religious persons, though small in number, must not be omitted. They remained true to the ancient idea of flight from the world and the bliss of contemplation. What Germany and Holland had done for mysticism in the fourteenth and fifteenth

[1] *Innocentius Decimus*, Lectio V. ad Matutinum in June 21.

centuries, that was now done by Spain and France. The cultivation of mental prayer, and the resting of the human will in the love of God, were combined with an ascetic life. S. Theresa, S. John of the Cross, S. Francis de Sales, Laurence Scupoli, are among the honoured names of those who strove after this union with God. Their influence passed far beyond monastic circles. Archbishop Fénelon is a late and noble example of a combination of active clerical life with the simplest mystical piety. Let the critics say, if they will, that he tilts perpetually at 'the unfortunate *Moi-même*.' But when we have read the critics, we return to our Fénelon.

The third group of orders has devoted itself to the care and instruction of the poor and needy. It is here that modern asceticism has shown itself to be most Christian, because most Christ-like. Societies for the instruction of boys and girls, and for the care of the sick, arose before the end of the sixteenth century. One of the first was the Order of the Brothers of Charity, founded, though not under that name, by John De Dios at Granada in 1540 as the result of a sermon preached by S. John of the Cross. Still more important were the works of S. Vincent de Paul, the son of a Gascon peasant, and a true pastor of souls. He founded in 1624 the 'Priests of the Mission' to revive spiritual life among the common people, and in 1633 the 'Sisters of Charity' for the relief of the sick and poor. This latter institution met with considerable opposition. It was thought to be a wild innovation, but it proved a triumphant success. That women might be secluded from the world in a cloister had long been regarded as fully legitimate, possibly by many people who had failed to realise how few vocations there are to a strictly contemplative life. But to call the saints back into the world, and to bring women to cure the worst ills of human life, was a bold

and novel undertaking. 'Let your monasteries,' said Vincent,' 'be the homes of the sick, your cell a hired chamber, your chapel the parish church, your cloister the streets of the town and the wards of the hospitals, your rule obedience, your grating the fear of God.'

Almost simultaneously with the great work of S. Vincent de Paul came the first restoration of community life in England. The nunnery of Little Gidding, the memory of which has become fragrant once more in the pages of the beautiful romance of *John Inglesant*, was a brief revival of the common life of prayer, with care for the poor and care for books. It died away in a troubled age, leaving us a few relics in the shape of faded velvet bindings which were fashioned by the gentle hands that now are dust. It can easily be shown that the nobler minds in the Church of England never forgot the ascetic element in early Christian belief and feeling. But the chill air of English popular religion nipped the development of the ascetic ideal. There was some knowledge that real abuses had been sheltered by monasticism, and there was a notion that any belief in a special vocation to a life of self-denial implied a foolish recognition of works of supererogation. Yet even the unromantic eighteenth century furnishes us with a romantic instance of the revival of a cloistered life in the very heart of Protestantism, when some German Baptists emigrated to Pennsylvania and built a monastery and nunnery at Ephrata. Their leader was Conrad Beissel, who wrote the first book of German poetry published in America (1730). The life of the 'Solitaries' of Ephrata was rigorously ascetic and industrious, bearing a distinct similarity to that of the monks of Pachomius. A beautiful story is told of Peter Miller, the successor of Beissel. It is, that a man who had grossly insulted him became a spy of the British, was captured by the Americans, and

sentenced to death. Miller pleaded with Washington for the man's life. The general answered that the state of public affairs demanded severe measures, 'otherwise, I would gladly release your friend.' 'Friend!' replied Miller, 'he is the only enemy I have.' The pardon was granted, and Miller arrived on the ground where the gallows was erected just in time to save his enemy's life.[1]

The introduction of Sisters of Mercy into the English Church, and the subsequent revival of community life for men, were the direct outcome of the Oxford Movement. Dr. Pusey, with his own singular knowledge of souls and his experience of the needs of the poor and the plague-stricken, is the English S. Vincent de Paul. 'He was satisfied that unless the hands of the clergy were strengthened by the disciplined love of Christians, not of necessity in holy orders, but led by divine grace to give themselves up to a life of sacrifice, little could be done to recover masses of population which had outgrown all the existing machinery of the Church.'[2] And so the first community of sisters was inaugurated at Park Village West, Regent's Park, London, on 26th March 1845. God who 'hath set the world in the heart' of His servants also 'hath made everything beautiful in its time,' and the work of English sisterhoods has extended with its merciful beneficence in every direction. The homeless and the fallen, the sick and the poor, the labouring and the ignorant, have learnt their care. In the meantime, the community life for men has begun to take root. At present, it seems to promise most in missionary work and in the development of the inner life of the clergy. The Society of S. John the Evan-

[1] For a charming sketch of the wonderful work done by the Franciscans in California in the eighteenth century, see the *Century Magazine* for May and June 1883.

[2] H. P. Liddon, *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii. p. 2.

gelist, the Society of the Sacred Mission, and the Community of the Resurrection have abundantly justified themselves in the midst of a critical age and nation. Perhaps there is greatest need in the Church of England for a successful community devoting itself to the education of boys of all classes. There is probably unlimited work for those who are willing to learn from the mistakes and from the achievements of bygone monks how to promote the kingdom of God.

An increasing number of those who are living in the world realise a constraining power in the lives of these old heroes. The reason is not far away. It is because deep within our hearts we know that there is something more abiding than the empires that men build, and something richer than the millions which they amass. It is the tradition which goes back farther than the times of Francis or Benedict, the tradition that 'it is more blessed to give than to receive,' and the life which is conformed to the life of the Crucified.

NOTE TO CHAPTER IX

For the history of early monasticism, especially in Egypt, the reader is referred to Dom Cuthbert Butler's work on the *Lausiac History of Palladius*, in *Texts and Studies*, vol. vi. No. 1, Cambridge 1898. In this valuable book the author has found his previous convictions as to the early and essentially Christian origin of monasticism abundantly confirmed, and the pseudo-critical theory which denies that there were Christian monks before A.D. 340 is demolished. Numerous references are also given to recent literature on the subject of monasticism.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PRIMITIVE EPISCOPACY AT ROME

The apparent paradox that the primitive Church of Rome was substantially Presbyterian in government *until the middle of the second century* has recently fascinated various scholars of widely different beliefs. It has been accepted, among others, by Dr. Wordsworth, the present Lord Bishop of Salisbury, and by Professors Harnack and Schmiedel, the two most prominent Continental theologians who have attacked the Divinity and the Virgin-birth of Jesus Christ. The theory is that the Church was ruled by a body or college of presbyters. Dr. Wordsworth in his *Murtle Lecture* delivered at Aberdeen on February 23, 1902, has stated his theory in a very brief and very moderate form, stating that the body of Presbyters had, he believes, 'standing Presidents,' and only admitting the *possibility* 'that in some cases at first this Presidency may not have involved more than choice, and not have required separate ordination.' (p. 14.) Of course, if the presiding presbyter was in all cases ordained by a bishop or bishops before he was elevated over the other presbyters, and if this ordination depends upon an appointment made by the apostles themselves, the whole principle of episcopacy is conceded. But Dr. Wordsworth in his lengthy and learned *Ministry of Grace* does not appear to concede as much as this. He has quoted ancient documents in a manner which distinctly suggests that in certain parts of Christendom, Rome included, the presbyters ordained their President, and that such a President or Bishop was not necessary to the existence of a Church. We are not surprised to find that the Rev. James Cooper, D.D., the widely-respected Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow, has declared that the Bishop 'has stated the case for some of our Presbyterian positions as exhibited in the records of the primitive

Church, more fully and more conclusively than any recent Presbyterian scholar' (*A United Church for the British Empire*, Forres, 1902). On pp. 101-102 we have alluded to some of the documents which his Lordship has quoted, and shown that it is easy to interpret these documents in a very different fashion. We must now mention the three documents which he quotes (*op. cit.* pp. 125-127) to illustrate the government of the Roman Church previous to A.D. 150. His quotations for the immediately succeeding period need not be discussed in this place, for they show no more than the essential connection between the episcopate and the presbyterate which is still nominally maintained in the Roman Church. The three documents are :—

1. The Epistle of S. Clement, A.D. 95.
2. The Epistles of S. Ignatius, about A.D. 110.
3. The Shepherd of Hermas, about A.D. 140.

1. The first of these documents, being directed to Corinth and not to Rome, and dealing expressly with Corinthian affairs, is evidence of the highest value for the state of the Church government of Corinth, but not of equal value for that of Rome. Dr. Wordsworth justly says that in this Epistle 'the titles Presbyters and Bishops seem to be interchangeable, as in the Epistle to Titus.' For the sake of avoiding confusion it would have been better to say that in this Epistle the titles *presbyter* and *episkopos* seem to be interchangeable. For all parties admit that the word 'Bishop' now has a significance which did not originally attach to the word *episkopos*. The main question is not whether the titles *presbyter* and *episkopos* were formerly interchangeable, but whether in the time of Clement the officials who bore these titles were under a superior ruler. His Epistle suggests that they were. For Clement certainly speaks of ecclesiastical 'leaders' or 'rulers' under the names of προηγούμενοι or ἡγούμενοι (Compare *Acts* xv. 22 ; *Hebrews* xiii. 7, 17, 24.) In ch. i. 3 and ch. xxi. 6 they are certainly distinguished from the presbyters, and it is scarcely possible to interpret the presbyters in these two passages as only 'elderly men.' Dr. Wordsworth himself points out that in these two passages the two titles exist 'side by side,' and he suggests the possibility of the ἡγούμεμοι being 'a sort of managing committee of the larger order of πρεσβύτεροι.' He also points out that in ch. xliv. 'Apostles or their delegates' are mentioned as the first class in 'a threefold order.' If then we find an Epistle, written from Rome by *one* official in the name of the Church, and find that this Epistle assumes that the readers are familiar with the existence of *apostolic delegates*, and if we admit that the *rulers* were not necessarily a class co-extensive with the

presbyters, it surely becomes extremely difficult to maintain that the Church of Rome or the Church of Corinth in A.D. 95 lacked that institution which we now call episcopacy.

2. The case of S. Clement is intimately connected with that of S. Ignatius, who in his letter to Rome does not mention any bishop of the Roman Church. Dr. Wordsworth speaks of this as 'striking evidence.' He adds, 'It is all the more remarkable as being evidence from silence, where the writer would have most naturally been prone to speak out if circumstances had permitted it. In this letter he twice speaks of himself as "Bishop of Syria" or "of the Church in Syria," (ch. ii. and ix.); but he is entirely silent as to any such office in the Church of Rome. He addresses that Church in remarkably laudatory language, and he refers to it as the teacher of others (ch. iii.), a title probably acquired by the letter ascribed to Clement. If then, Clement, or any other single Church officer, had been "Bishop of Rome," in the sense that Ignatius was "Bishop of Syria," the language of the latter in writing to Rome would be almost inexplicable.'

The circumstances of the case seem to us to warrant the precisely opposite conclusion. For the above interpretation of Ignatius is (i) directly opposed to his own assertion that bishops are 'established unto the boundaries of the earth.' Ignatius could not have said this if he had known that the Church of Rome, with the state of which he was evidently not unfamiliar, had no bishop. It also (ii) introduces a grave difficulty by supposing that the constitution of the Church was substantially different in its two chief centres, Rome and Asia Minor; for Ignatius takes episcopacy in the latter country as a matter of course. And the phenomenon presented by Ignatius' Epistle to the Romans can be explained in the most natural manner by the suggestion that he said nothing about episcopacy in it because the Romans required no exhortation to obey their bishop. In each of his other letters, all of them destined for perusal in the East, he assumes that his readers live where a bishop holds sway, and he insists upon the absolute necessity of acting in union with the bishops. But in writing to the Romans he says, 'Ye were the instructors of others, and my desire is that those lessons shall hold good which as teachers ye enjoin.' He calls the Church of Rome 'beloved and enlightened,' 'worthy of felicitation, worthy of praise.' The reason of his enthusiastic encomiums is obvious when we read the other letters. The saint knows of no mischievous heretics and no threatening divisions in Rome. There is therefore no need to exhort the Romans to obedience. Their Church is a pattern for other

Churches to copy. Can we then be wrong in supposing that it was peculiarly faithful to that very form of government which Ignatius desired to see undisputed in other parts of the world? If the contents of the Epistle to the Romans corresponded more closely with the contents of the other six Epistles, the omission of the bishop's name would indeed be 'striking evidence' to the fact that Rome was without a bishop. But the contents are exactly of that character which makes the omission intelligible.

3. Nothing unfavourable to the existence of episcopacy at Rome can be gathered from the famous allegory known as the *Shepherd* of Hermas. According to the explicit statement of the Muratorian Canon, which can hardly be even as late as A.D. 180, Hermas wrote the *Shepherd* 'very recently in our own times in the city of Rome while his brother Pius as bishop occupied the episcopal chair of the city of Rome.' Anything more explicit than this it would be impossible to imagine. The writer speaks of a recent event known to his contemporaries. And he asserts that Pius occupied that position which the more extreme critics assert was held by no one until after the death of Pius, and which Dr. Wordsworth suggests was only partly built up in the time of Pius. Nothing but the most definite testimony in the *Shepherd* itself could overthrow so plain a statement about the existence of episcopacy in Rome. But the *Shepherd* itself corroborates the fact that Rome had a monarchical bishop even before the time of Pius. For in 2 *Vision* iv. 3 the Church is represented as saying to Hermas, 'Thou shalt therefore write two little books, and shalt send one to Clement, and one to Grapte. So Clement shall send to the foreign cities, for this is his duty; while Grapte shall instruct the widows and the orphans. But thou shalt read (the book) to this city along with the presbyters that preside over the Church.' Either Hermas began to write his book before the death of Clement and did not complete it until the time of Pius, or he purposely laid the scene of his book at a date anterior to its composition. In either case, Hermas assigns a unique position to Grapte, no doubt as the representative of those widows who performed important duties in ministering to the women, and assigns a unique position to Clement. The command to Clement to communicate with foreign cities recalls immediately to our minds Clement's famous letter to the Corinthians. To omit all mention of this passage, as Dr. Wordsworth has done in describing the *Shepherd*, is surely unwarrantable.

The phrase about the presiding presbyters (οἱ πρεσβύτεροι οἱ προϊστάμενοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας) suggests that the presbyters formed a

Council, as Ignatius says in writing to the Trallians (*τὸ συνέδριον τοῦ Θεοῦ*). Elsewhere they are called *πρεσβύτεροι* simply (2 *Vis.* iv. 2 cf. iv. 3).

The *ἐπίσκοποι* are mentioned (3 *Vis.* v. 1 ; 9 *Sim.* xxvii. 2) in a manner which is compatible with the theory that they were distinct from and above the presbyters. It is plain that they were important in the administration of charity and finance like the *προεστώς* in Justin. But as the only function which is expressly assigned to them is that of care for the poor, the exact meaning of their title is not quite clear. The difficulty would probably be removed if we could be certain of the significance of two descriptive titles. The first is *οἱ πρωτοκαθεδρῖται*, 'the occupants of the chief seat' (3 *Vis.* ix. 7). The second is *οἱ προηγούμενοι*, or *οἱ προηγούμενοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, 'the leaders of the church' (2 *Vis.* ii. 6). One clue to the meaning of the titles is that the two are mentioned side by side in a manner which makes it grammatically impossible to regard them as co-extensive (3 *Vis.* ix. 7). It therefore seems natural to identify the 'leaders of the Church' with the *ἐπίσκοποι*, and to suppose that 'the occupants of the chief seat' include *both* the presbyters *and* the *ἐπίσκοποι* as in Origen.

It has been suggested that the *πρωτοκαθεδρῖται* are simply the presbyters, inasmuch as it is said in 3 *Vis.* i. 8, 'let the *πρεσβύτεροι* sit down first.' But this rather tempting explanation is excluded by the fact that the *πρεσβύτεροι* in this passage are only elder men, being contrasted with 'the young men' mentioned just before. The whole problem is complicated by the fact that we cannot determine how far Hermas is using the language of the time when his book was published, or how far the language is deliberately and consistently archaic. But in no case can it be proved that Hermas considered the presbyters to be independent of a permanent bishop.

Other facts which bear upon the existence of episcopacy at Rome are as follows :—

a. It is universally admitted that the Anicetus who was visited by St. Polycarp was sole bishop of Rome. This visit probably took place in A.D. 154.

b. Justin Martyr, in 1 *Apol.* 67, when he describes the Eucharist refers to the celebrant in a manner which suggests one supreme official. He calls him *ὁ προεστώς*, 'the president.' We must not lay very great stress upon this, as Justin is perhaps simplifying his account for the benefit of non-Christian readers. But 'the president' certainly appears as the acting centre of the celebration of the Eucharist, like the bishop in Ignatius (*Philad.* 4). He also is equally the centre of the

Church's philanthropic activities. The date is about A.D. 152.

c. St. Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* III. iv. § 3) about A.D. 185 says that the heretic Valentinus 'came to Rome under Hyginus, flourished under Pius and remained until Anicetus.' He here assumes that Hyginus and Pius were bishops no less truly than Anicetus.

d. Tertullian (*c. Valent.* 4) says that Valentinus had hoped for the episcopate on account of his intelligence and his eloquence. He was angry because another received this office on account of his prerogative as a martyr, and 'he broke with the Church of the genuine rule of faith.' Here Tertullian, who was himself born about A.D. 160, shows that the Roman bishop who was a contemporary of Valentinus had been a 'confessor' in the time of persecution, one ready to suffer actual death for the faith. It has been suggested that this confessor was Telesphorus, who, Irenaeus tells us, did thus 'bear witness gloriously,' and was bishop before Hyginus. But as Irenaeus tells us that Valentinus did not come to Rome until the time of Hyginus, it seems probable that the statement of Tertullian must be rejected. The explanation of his mistake seems to be found in a passage of Epiphanius (*Haer.* 42). Epiphanius, writing about A.D. 375, but apparently quoting from a much older writing, tells us that *Marcion*, the other great heretic contemporary with Valentinus, came to Rome 'after the death of Hyginus, bishop of Rome,' and left the Church when he was refused 'the first place.' The wealth and influence of Marcion make this story sound extremely probable. And it is no unreasonable conjecture that Tertullian had heard it by word of mouth, and afterwards confused it with the story of Valentinus. In any case, we find that Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Epiphanius, or rather the ancient source used by Epiphanius, unite in assuming that there was a bishop of Rome before Pius.

e. The list of the successive bishops of Rome, a list well-known to S. Irenaeus and other early writers, cannot reasonably be dated later than A.D. 165 and was probably made by Hegesippus. This is generally admitted, but its testimony is attacked by either (i) asserting that it is unhistorical, or (ii) asserting that these bishops were merely presbyters elected by the other presbyters. The first of these two assertions is made in opposition to the slight but genuine evidence which exists; and the second assertion, though it cannot at present be proved to be false, is totally unsupported.

APPENDIX B

THE LICENSE GRANTED TO JOHN MORRISON

The original of the license granted to John Morrison, a Scottish Calvinist, to preach and administer the sacraments in the province of Canterbury, is printed in Appendix XVII. of Strype's *Life of Edmund Grindal.* It is as follows:

Wilhelmus Aubrey Legum Doctor, Officio Vicariatus in Spiritualibus Generalis, et Officialitatis Principalis Sedis Archiepiscopalis Cantuar. legitime fungens; Dilecto nobis in Christo Johanni Morrison A.M. in Regno Scotiae oriundo, Sal. in Domino sempiternam.

Cum uti ex fide digno Testimonio acceperimus, tu praefatus Johannes Morrison circiter quinq; Annos elapsos in oppido de Garvet in Comitat. Lothien. Regni Scotiae per generalem Synodum sive Congregationem illius Comitatus in dicto Oppido de Garvet congregatam juxta laudabilem Ecclesiae Scotiae Reformatae Formam et Ritum ad sacros Ordines et Sacrosanctum Ministerium per manuum Impositionem admissus et ordinatus fueras: Cumq; etiam dicta Congregatio illius Comitat. Lothen. Orthodoxae Fidei et sincerae Religionis, in hoc Regno Angliae modo receptae et auctoritate publica stabilitatae, sit conformis:

Nos igitur Formam Ordinationis et Praefectionis tuae hujus modi, modo praemisso factam, quantum in nos [*sic*] est, et de jure possumus, approbantes et ratificantes, Tibi, ut in hujusmodi Ordinibus per te susceptis, in quibuscunq; locis congruis, in et per totam Provinciam Cantuarien. divina Officia celebrare, Sacramenta ministrare, necnon Verbum Dei Sermone Latino vel vulgari, juxta Talentum tibi a Deo traditum, pure et sincere praedicare, libere et licite possis et valeas, Licentiam et Facultatem, de Consensu et expresso Mandato Reverendiss. in Christo Patris Domini EDMUNDI Divina Providentia Cantuarien. Archiepiscopi totius Angliae Primatis et Metropolitani, nobis significato, quantum in nobis est, et de jure possumus, ac quatenus jura regni patiuntur, benigne in Domino concedimus et impertimus. In cujus rei Testimonium, Sigillum, quo in similibus utimur, Praesentibus apponi fecimus. Dat. Sexto Die Mensis Aprilis Ann. Dom. 1582.

In view of the ignorance which this document displays concerning the congregation of the county of Lothian (here declared to be conformable to the religion of England), and in view of the hesitation which Aubrey shows about the validity of his

action ('as much as in us lies, and we lawfully can, and so far as the laws of the realm permit') we must deem the importance attributed to this license to have been much exaggerated. This exaggerated appreciation dates back as far as Daniel Neal (*History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 385, f. 2nd edition, 1732). Neal actually calls it 'as full a Testimonial to the Validity of Presbyterial Ordination as can be desired,' and after mentioning the fact that the Bishop of London steadily refused a license to a man who had 'only been ordained among the foreign Churches,' Neal says, 'this was certainly contrary to Law; for the Statute 13 *Eliz.* cap. 12, admits the Ministrations of those who had only been ordained according to the manner of the Scots, or other foreign Churches.' The statute aforesaid does nothing of the kind, and Neal has misrepresented it. It enacts that every person under the degree of a bishop, and pretending to be a priest or minister, if ordained otherwise than by the form set forth in the time of Edward VI. or that now in use, must subscribe the Articles of Religion. No allusion whatever is made to the Scottish manner of ordination, and the large number of priests then in England who had been ordained in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Mary makes it evident that the law was primarily intended to secure the sincerity of these priests in their adherence to the Reformation (*The Statutes of the Realm, printed by Command of His Majesty King George the Third*, A.D. 1819, vol. iv. p. 546).

The principal statements of the early Scottish Protestants on the subject of ordination are as follows:—

The First Book of Discipline, A.D. 1560, says, 'Other ceremonies then the publick Approbation of the People, and Declaration of the chiefe Minister that the Person there presented is appointed to serve the Church, we cannot approve; for albeit the Apostles used Imposition of Hands, yet seeing the Miracle is ceased, the using of the Ceremonie we judge not necessarie.'—W. Dunlop, *Collection of Confessions of Faith*, vol ii. p. 529.

This was altered in the *Second Book of Discipline*, A.D. 1578. which says, 'Ordinatione is the Separatione and Sanctifying of the Persone appointit to God and his Kirk, efter he be weill tryit and fund qualifiet. The Ceremonies of Ordinatione are Fasting, earnest Prayer, and Imposition of Hands of the Elderschip.'—*op. cit.* p. 768.

APPENDIX C

THE LIMITS OF PAPAL INFALLIBILITY

The following quotation will illustrate the exact position of a modern Roman Catholic who accepts the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope and at the same time endeavours to be true to historical facts. It is taken from Prof. Albert Ehrhard's *Der Katholizismus und das zwanzigste Jahrhundert* (12th edition, p. 276-7), a book which has created an immense sensation in Austria and Germany as a defence of moderate Roman Catholicism. The learned author, in defending the doctrine of papal infallibility, mentions, as an apparent instance of the fallibility of a pope, the attitude of Honorius in the Monothelite controversy. After a weak defence of Honorius, he passes on to another and still more awkward fact. It is that Protestants urge that 'the Popes of the end of the second and the beginning of the third century had subscribed to the so-called modalist Monarchianism, that is, the heresy which maintains the real identity of the Father with the Son, and their distinction merely in the history of redemption' (in plain words, a Sabellian form of Unitarianism). 'This conclusion,' he says, 'was only attained by the process of drawing no distinction between the faith of these popes and their theology. As a matter of fact they held fast the faith in the Godhead of the historical Christ, which they found as an essential element in the proclamation of the faith; their theology, *i.e.* their attempt to remove the apparent opposition between the unity of God and the Divinity of Christ, was not, however, free from objection. Now, since the correctness of the scientific theology of the Popes has nothing to do with their infallibility as the highest representatives of the proclamation of the faith, this second instance cannot form any case against it. But both instances are very instructive, because they provide the historical corrective of a too wide speculative interpretation of the comprehensiveness of the dogma of infallibility.'

It will be observed that no attempt is here made to deny that the Popes in question were heretical. But when they stated the creed of the Church they are said to have taught the 'faith' infallibly; when they tried to explain the creed they are said to have taught a 'theology' which is 'not free from objection.' The professor is forced to appeal from the erroneous theology of certain popes to the faith of the Church. And if so, we must pronounce the dogma of papal infallibility to be a miserable makeshift. We have no desire to ridicule the people who hold

that dogma. For we must confess with shame that whereas the Roman Catholic bishops of Austria and Germany were largely opposed to its definition, England appears to have been mainly responsible for it. It is quite probable that it would never have been approved if it had not been for the efforts of the Ultramontane Cardinal Manning and of Mr. Odo Russell, then the British diplomatic representative at Rome. Their untiring energy was seconded by the English secular newspapers which provided Manning with his trump card by their assertions that the Ultramontanes were 'alone consistent, frank, and straightforward.' This enabled Manning to persuade the Vatican Council that conversions from Protestantism would not be hindered by the new dogma, though many of the Continental bishops had been previously convinced that this would be the case. —See E. S. Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning*, vol ii. p. 456.

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